PROFESSIONAL WORK IN FLEMISH CIVIL SOCIETY ORGANISATIONS: HYPOTHESING THE IMPACT OF CHANGING POLITICAL AND SERVICE ROLES IN THE SECTOR
A LITERATURE REVIEW

CSI Flanders working paper 4

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Abstract

Workers in civil society organisations (CSOs) are confronted with several societal changes and new challenges, which not only influence the way these organisations work and are organised, but might also have an impact on the day to day jobs of the employees. This paper summarizes existing literature on the potential impact of societal changes on the professional in CSOs, his job and job quality, tasks and skill needs. The first part of the paper sheds a light on the definition and core elements of professional work in CSOs and its particular job characteristics, tasks, responsibilities, skill needs and the specific motivational characteristics of CSO jobs. In the second part this paper summarises existing findings on the potential impacts of among others marketization, professionalization, individualisation, diversity and digitalisation on professionals in CSOs. The findings suggest considerable changes in job quality and intrinsic motivation, new or different skill needs and changing roles. In the third part we explore literature on innovative HRM frameworks, policies and practices. We discuss how high-commitment HRM or values-based HRM as a managerial strategy can provide innovations in the civil society sector and discuss the importance of a fit between the HRM policies and practices and the organisational strategy, mission and values.

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Contents

1 | Introduction

Civil society is an umbrella term which can evoke quite different things. From a broad view the label civil society represents the (economically demarcated) non-profit sector. In this perspective the label 'third sector' is also often used, which can be defined as follows: *"the third sector consists of private associations and foundations; non-commercial cooperatives, mutuals, and social enterprises; and individual activities undertaken without pay or compulsion primarily to benefit society or persons outside of one's household or next of kin."* (Salamon & Sokolowski, 2014). From this broad perspective civil society encompasses the whole non-profit or social profit sector.

In the Belgian and Flemish political context civil society is mainly approached from a more strict perspective. In analogy with football, civil society organisations (CSOs) are labelled as the organised 'midfield' ('georganiseerde middenveld'). The label signifies the importance that is attached to this organisational field between state, market and citizen in Belgium and Flanders. Organisations in this civil society are based on private initiative, but the goal is not profit, but participation in society. It is not based on the emotional ties of the private sphere, not (directly) controlled by the government and not dependent on the market (ref). From this perspective civil society refers to among others trade unions, employers federations, NGOs striving for a common cause (e.g. human rights organisations), youth organisations, religious communities, environmental movements, ... Elchardus, Huyse, & Hooghe (2001, p. 18) speak about *"the whole set of autonomous and not-market dominated organisations that by their mediating role facilitate effective communication between citizens and the political and economic system"*. However, in the Belgian tradition of welfare state subsidiarity and pillarization, these organisations are not only involved in mediating interests towards political decision-making, but are to a larger or lesser extent also involved in the policy implementation. They combine – again to larger or lesser extent – political functions and a servicing role.

This paper is one of the outcomes from the CSI Flanders project, a four-year project with the aim to support and promote innovation in Flemish civil society organisations. In a changing world these organisations are confronted with several changes and pressures (such as marketization, individualisation, globalisation), which have an impact on the political role and social service delivery role of these organisations. The project will look at how this changing context influences the relations between civil society and governments, and between civil society and citizens. In a second step the project focuses on the changes which these societal pressures bring about in the internal organisation and management of civil society organisations in Flanders, in terms of governance, personnel management and volunteer management and how these changes can be tackled by important organisational innovations.

In this position paper the international literature will be reviewed to get insights on how societal changes might impact personnel and HRM in civil society organisations in Flanders. Although our aim is to approach civil society from a stricter – Flemish – perspective, the majority of the international literature is confined to the third sector in general and especially the (non-profit) care sector. This paper investigates the potential impact of marketization, individualisation, globalisation and digitalisation on the employees of civil society organisations in terms of their working conditions, tasks and roles. Further the paper explores how the organisation (through HRM) can make a difference and deal in an innovative and constructive way with the imposed pressures.

The focus of this paper is on civil society organisations (CSOs). Within organisational sciences several typologies of organisations exist, which allow to better understand the working and typical

characteristics of organisations. Using the typology of Van Harten (1986) CSOs can be described as 'semi-professional organisations', an organisational type which is typical for among others socio-cultural organisations, education and welfare work organisations. This typology classifies organisations into four types depending on the level of autonomy, the professionalization and specialisation of the employees (namely product organisations, service organisations, professional organisations and semi-professionals organisations). Semi-professional organisations have a relatively flat hierarchy with a team leader or coordinator. Employees (semi-professionals) have a shared responsibility and possibilities to participate and engage in decision making, but the final responsibility is placed with the coordinator. These CSO professionals have a certain degree of vocational – specialised – training, but they work less autonomous than professionals like lawyers, accountants or doctors (which have a professional code, specific educational expertise, ...). Semi-professional organisations mostly work based on subsidies, funding, sponsoring and do not seek profit. They have a societal function, which is based on their mission and values (Dekeyser, 1991). This organisational type thus seems to fit CSOs quite well. These are organisations in which work is done by employees in combination with (a sometimes large base of) volunteers. In this literature review we concentrate on the people working in these organisations, which can be seen as semi-professionals. They have certain characteristics of professionals, although they lack a formal recognition, professional code or the prestige linked with professionals like lawyers or accountants, and they can execute their work with relative high levels of autonomy, discretion and responsibility. Thus this paper will deal with the impact of societal changes on the CSOs as (semi-)professional organisations and their core workforce, namely professionals. It does not mean of course that the broad landscape of CSOs – certainly in the region of Flanders where our research is targeted on – does not include other forms of organisations and other types of employees. As such, our position paper has his limitations by focusing on the main story of the core workforce, taking the sometimes hybrid organisational structure and workforce characteristics of the CSOs in Flanders only limitedly into account.[1]

In the first part of the paper we define our object of study: (semi-)professional work in CSOs. We start with a discussion on the definition and core elements of professional in CSOs, in terms of tasks, responsibilities, and competences. Social work forms the core of these jobs. Next we try to assess the particular job quality characteristics of CSO jobs. We will illuminate further how the specific motivational situation of CSO professionals and/or jobs certainly have to be taken into account when investigating the impact of organizational trends on the professional work in CSOs and how this impact can be tackled by improvements in personnel management.

In the second part this paper summarises existing studies/findings on the potential impacts of among others marketization, professionalization, individualisation, diversity ... on professionals in CSOs. We look at how these societal pressures bring about changes in job quality and intrinsic motivation of CSO professionals and ask for new or different skill needs and changing roles. However, we learned that this existing literature is still very limited, mainly coming from a UK or US context and focussing almost exclusively on the changes in the servicing role of CSOs.

The third part explores literature on innovative HRM frameworks, policies and practices (coming from the for-profit sector) which are promoted by different authors as contributing solutions to the personnel& organisation (P&O) challenges that the civil society sector is confronted with. We discuss how high-commitment HRM as a managerial strategy can provide innovations in the civil society sector and learn from the existing literature the importance of a fit between the HRM policies and practices and the organisational strategy, mission and values.

We conclude this position paper with a discussion of the limitations of the paper and existing black boxes in international literature. Further we summarise this review and exploration in a basic conceptual

1 Regarding this hybridization trend we refer to CSI Flanders working paper 3: Suykens, Verschuere, & De Rynck (2017)

framework which can guide us in the investigation of the impact of societal pressures on professional work in CSOs and how particular HRM innovations can play a role in tackling these pressures.

2 | Professionals in civil society organisations

2.1 Definition of a professional

Getting a better understanding of the meaning of the concept 'professional' is our first step in the exploration of the impact of changing roles of civil society organisations (CSOs) on the people working professionally in these organisations.

In the broadest sense of the word a 'professional' is the opposite of the word 'amateur', implying that a professional performs an activity in a context of a (full-time) occupation and not voluntary (Flexner, 2001). The Oxford dictionary gives the following definitions for a professional: *"a person engaged or qualified in a profession", "a person engaged in a specified activity, especially a sport, as a main paid occupation rather than as a pastime"* and *"a person competent or skilled in a particular activity"* (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). In a CSO-context the professional can be contrasted with the volunteer. A volunteer is *"a person who works for an organization without being paid"* (Oxford Dictionaries, n.d.). In this context this is often linked with doing charitable or helpful work. Volunteer work thus is doing activities without financial reward in an organised setting and with a social goal.

Academics often point towards four characteristics in their definitions of professionals. A first element is the autonomous expertise or competence which professionals have, and which is often based on specialized educational training. However this expertise or knowledge can also be developed tacit through hands-on experience. Professionals derive status, prestige, legitimacy or authority from this expertise, as well as autonomy in their work (Hwang & Powell, 2009; Noordegraaf et al., 2015; Wilensky, 1964). Secondly, they have professional norms and values (of conduct) (Wilensky, 1964). A third characteristic is the service ideal which professionals have. They provide counselling, information, activities or services to others without the expectation of business gain (but for a compensation, since it is their occupation) (Noordegraaf et al., 2015; Wilensky, 1964). Finally these professionals have a clear commitment and engagement towards their work - other than earning money – and an orientation towards improving one's capabilities as a professional (Hwang & Powell, 2009).

In this context of this paper we focus on CSO professionals who are paid for their work – i.e. the employees in the CSOs - contrary to volunteers. However this does not imply that volunteers do not apply professional competences and attitudes in their engagement as a volunteer[2].

The four characteristics of a professional describe a professional broader than only those executing a 'free profession' such as lawyers, physicians, architects, and includes among others social workers, teachers, social-cultural workers, community workers, youth workers. In what follows we will focus on professionals in civil society organisations (CSOs): what are their tasks and roles and what sets these professionals in CSOs apart from employees in for-profit organisations (or public organisations).

2.1.1 A long and heterogeneous list of occupations

Within civil society organisations professionals work in a broad spectrum of occupations. In the Flemish context of 'middenveld' (midfield), they are often named 'socio-cultural workers'. In an international context, these occupations refer to the broader concept of 'social work'. In 2014 the International Federation of Social Workers (IFSW) and the International Association of Schools of Social Work (IASSW) agreed upon the following definition of social work:

2 In addition the current context of coproduction leads to a blurring of the distinction between professionals and volunteers, and between te work someone does in a professional role or in a volunteer role. Linked with this, new questions arise regarding the statute of a volunteer.

"Social work is a practice-based profession and an academic discipline that promotes social change and development, social cohesion, and the empowerment and liberation of people. Principles of social justice, human rights, collective responsibility and respect for diversities are central to social work. Underpinned by theories of social work, social sciences, humanities and indigenous knowledge, social work engages people and structures to address life challenges and enhance well-being." (Moriarty, Baginsky, & Manthorpe, 2015, p. 4).

Within this container concept a lot of – more specific – occupations can be found, such as youth workers, community workers, (social) instructors[3], staff members, consultants, advisors, animators and many more (Pôle Emploi, n.d.; Spierts, 2014).

The Belgian 'Competent database for occupations and competences' lists seven (general) occupations within the sector of 'services to people and the community' (Table 2.1), without distinguishing between occupations done by employees of the public sector or employees in the civil society sector. For each of the occupations that are listed however a wide range of other names exist, which makes it difficult to make a distinct list of occupations.

Focussing on the group of **'social-cultural workers'**, occupations such as youth workers, community worker, animator, educational workers, consultant, advisor, etc. are listed by initiatives which attempt to make a profile of the occupation of a social-cultural worker (Pôle Emploi, n.d.; Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen, 2000). The Ambrassade - in a recent effort to create some clarity - made a list of five ideal types of occupations in social-cultural work (in Flanders): promotor of social-cultural activities, community worker, project manager culture and education, campaign worker, advocate/promotor of interests (De Ambrassade, 2016) (Table 2.1). With these 5 ideal types they try to find some overarching types or clusters of occupations which are placed under 'social-cultural work'.

The Flemish association of social colleges distinguishes between four subdomains of social work - social work, social-cultural work, personnel administration and management, social advising[4] (Table 2.1) - which share a common focus on social work (cfr. definition above), but each have their own subdomain in which they are active. In the domain of social advising social-legal services are central, coming from social organisations such as trade unions, health services, etc. These services are linked to advocacy and lobbying. Personal services and psychosocial support and counselling are the main activities within social work, as well as making the social context of certain problems more manifest to among others policy makers. Social-cultural work can be found in all kinds of social and cultural activities with diverse groups – such as youth work, community work, cultural centres, etc. – were practical support for and organisation of activities is combined with organisational management and policy advice and development (VVSH, 2007). Finally, in personnel work the focus is on personnel administration and management in all kinds of organisations. This category of professional social work seems the less specific to a civil society context and more referring to a particular job activity related to human resource management of all kinds of organisations and companies.

Table 2.1 Professional occupations in civil society organisations – Belgian-Flemish existing classifications

Authors & Where	What	List
Competent (Pôle Emploi, n.d.) Belgium	Occupations in category 'services to people and the community'	Guidance on the work floor in the social economy[5] Informing and advising on social themes Coordinating child care Social-educational work

3 In Dutch: vormingswerker

4 Translated from Dutch: maatschappelijk werk, sociaal-cultureel werk, personeelswerk, maatschappelijk adviseur.

5 Translated from Dutch: Begeleiding op de werkvloer in de sociale economie, informeren en adviseren over sociale thema's, kinderopvang coördineren, sociaal-educatief werk, sociale bemiddeling en ondersteuning in het openbare leven, sociale dienstverlening, socioculturee werk

		Social mediation and support in the public life Social service provision Social-cultural work
Competent (Pôle Emploi, n.d.) Belgium	Occupations in category 'socio-cultural work'	Animator[6] Community worker Educational employee Youth worker / youth consultant Staff worker Training employee Project worker
Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen (2000) Social-cultural worker Belgium	Occupations (of social cultural workers)	Youth worker[7] Training employee Youth and culture worker(public sector) Community worker Educational employee
De Ambrassade (2016) Social cultural work, agogic occupations Belgium	5 occupations (ideal types)	Promotor social-cultural activities[8] Community worker Programmer culture and education Campaign worker Advocate / promotor of interests
Flemish association of social collages (VVSH, 2007) Social work Belgium	4 subdomains	Social work Social-cultural work Personnel administration/management Social advising

2.1.2 A set of general tasks and responsibilities

A review of the literature regarding tasks and responsibilities of professional workers in CSOs provides us with several lists of activities, tasks, responsibilities, ... (Table a1.1 in annex 1). In some studies a rather specific lists of tasks and activities is made for a specific group of social workers: Bentley, Walsh, & Farmer (2005) identify four types of psychiatric medication activities of social workers, Agresta (2004) lists twenty one professional roles of social workers in a school context. In Flanders the 'Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen' (1997a, 1997b, 1998, 2000) made occupational profiles of a large set of occupations, among which profiles of social-cultural workers, social workers, social advisors and employees working on social policy. As already stated the Flemish association of social schools discusses the main goals or functions as well as the tasks which are central for these CSO professionals for four main subdomains of social work - social work, social advising, personnel work and social-cultural work - (VVSH, 2007). In other studies more general lists of tasks are formulated, but nonetheless there are still differences between the different authors. Nonetheless similarities can also be noticed in the tasks which are frequently mentioned despite these different lists of tasks, activities and functions, namely:

6 Translated from Dutch: animator, buurtwerker, educatief medewerker, jeugdwerker/jeugd consulent, stafmedewerker, vormingsmedeweker, opbouwwerker, projectmedewerker

7 Translated from Dutch: jeugdwerkers, vormingswerker, jeugd- en cultuur consulent (publieke sector), opbouwwerker, educatief medewerker

8 Translated from Dutch: begeleider sociaal-culturele activiteiten, gemeenschapswerker, programmator cultuur en educatie, campagnewerker, belangenbehartiger.

- Advocate, signalling, representing;
- Giving assistance, advising, counselling (psychosocial, (social-)legal;
- Coordination and management of services, care, case management, ...;
- Activation, facilitation, promoting independence and autonomy;
- Prevention;
- Training and education, information sharing;
- Research and evaluation.

2.1.3 Competences of a social worker

Similarly we find several sets of competences of social workers – either in general or focussing on a more specific context (Table 2.2). Across these competence profiles we see that several competences are mentioned (nearly) in each profile and thus can be seen as typical and core competences for social workers: (1) analysing, assessment, signalling needs and questions; (2) cooperation and working in an interdisciplinary team; (3) networking and community capacity building; (4) coaching, empowering, focussing on activation and participation of people and self-responsibility; (5) persuasiveness and courage; (6) creativity and the ability to innovate; (7) self-development and being self-reflexive (Bosma et al., 2010; Lucassen, van Deth, & Sok, 2011; Vlaar, Kluft, & Liefhebber, 2013; Wijland & de Goede, 2012).

In addition a series of authors mention some other competences, however without clear consistency. They include communication skills, stress resistance, political and policy insight, negotiating competences (Lucassen et al., 2011); the ability to adapt (Wijland & de Goede, 2012); care delivery and care planning, decision making skills, evaluation and education competences (Bosma et al., 2010); seeking direct contact with people, working in divergent systems, ... (Vlaar et al., 2013).

Table 2.2 Overview of literature regarding competences of workers in civil society organisations

Authors & Where	What	List
Bosma et al. (2010) Hospice palliative care Canada	11 competences	Advocacy Assessment Care delivery Care planning Community capacity building Decision making Education and research Evaluation Information sharing Interdisciplinary team Self-reflective practice
Wijland & de Goede (2012) Social district teams Netherlands	9 competences of the generalist	Creativity Self-development Courage Coaching Cooperation Networking Ability to adapt Ability to innovate Persuasiveness
Lucassen et al. (2011)	Competence profile 12 competences	Signalling and analysing Sensitivity

Advocates Netherlands		Communication Courage Creativity Negotiating Persuasiveness Networking Cooperation Self-reflection Stress resistance Political and policy insight
Vlaar et al. (2013) Social worker – societal advice and support Netherlands	10 competences	Increasing own strength[9] - Increasing own strength and control over own life - Stimulating responsible behaviour Directing towards the demand/need - Is visible and seeks direct contact with people. - Clarifies demands and needs Binding and connecting - Connects a collective and individual approach - Stimulates involvement and participation Working integral - Cooperates and strengthens networks - Works in divergent systems Signalling and putting on the agenda - Sees through relations and anticipates changes - Uses the professional space and is entrepreneurial

2.1.4 Working with volunteers seems to be a blind spot

In the majority of civil society organisations **volunteers play an important role** in the day-to-day activities of the organisation. Working together with, supporting and guiding, consulting and debating with volunteers thus is an inherent part of work in CSOs. However this seems **not to be reflected in the profiles,** function descriptions and competences lists that can be found in the literature regarding social work. These interactions with volunteers of course ask for competences such as cooperation, networking, communication, coordination, training, etc. but one could expect that – given the importance of volunteers in CSOs – this would get some specific and explicit attention.

2.2 Profile of CSO professional and CSO sector

Now that we have some understanding of what social work means in terms of occupations, tasks and competences, we will zoom into some statistics about the sector and the profile of workers in this sector in Belgium and in comparison with other countries.

Aiming to make some statements on the employment in civil society organisations and the employees of these organisations, we need to be able to identify these organisations in surveys and statistics. Nonetheless it is **not evident to get a proper image of this sector**. The Flemish civil society is a sector which is hard to define and delimit, above all in (official) statistics. Consequently we have to appeal to official and regularly used classifications or structures that allow us to approach the civil society sector as much as possible. For the Belgian and especially Flemish CSOs, we can use two strategies for this

9 Translated from Dutch: Eigen kracht versterken: versterkt kracht en zelfregie, stimuleert verantwoordelijk gedrag; Op de vraag af: is zichtbaar en gaat op mensen af, verheldert vragen en behoeften; Binden en verbinden: verbindt gezamenlijke en individuele aanpak, stuurt aan op betrokkenheid en participatie; Integraal werken: werkt samen en versterkt netwerken, beweegt zich in uiteenlopende systemen; Signaleren en agenderen: doorziet verhoudingen en anticipeert op veranderingen, benut professionele ruimte en is ondernemen.

exercise: using the NACE (rev.2) classification or selecting organisations based on their membership to a specific Joint Committee[10].

Using the NACE Rev.2 classification (Europäische Kommission & Statistisches Amt, 2008) CSOs might be active mainly in three broad sectors: the residential care activities (87), social work activities without accommodation (88) and activities of membership organisations (94), and to a lesser extent in education (85) and more specifically in other educational activities (85592: vocational training activities and 85583: social-cultural training activities). However not all organisations active in these sectors are CSOs and there are also CSOs which are active in other sectors. Therefore statistics based on these NACE sectors might be over- or underestimations of the size of the CSO sector or broader the non-profit or social profit sector.

A second way of identifying and measuring CSOs is to look for data by Joint Committee. In Belgium collective bargaining of labour conditions is organised in a very structured way. Each company, organisation and employee in the private sector is assigned to a legally-established sectoral Joint Committee (based on the type of activity and occupation), where on a regular basis employers' organisations and trade unions settle collective agreements organising issues like pay and working time (Humblet & Rigaux, 2016). The social security administration publishes employment statistics based on these structures of social dialogue. These arrangements allow us to collect data on the whole social profit sector and on specific Joint Committees (except for the human health care sector). The social profit sector is covered by the following Joint Committees (Malfait, 2014): PC 318 services for families and elderly, PC 319 educational and housing facilities and services, PC 327 sheltered and social workplaces, PC 329 social-cultural sector; PC 330 health facilities and services, PC 331 Flemish well-being and health care sector, and PC 337 (other) non-profit activities and services. With the eye on the civil society sector the joint committees 329, 331 and 337 are the most relevant. Nonetheless similar problems arise as with the NACE classification: the statistics based on this data might be slight over -or underestimations of the actual size of the social profit sector and will probably not exactly match the numbers found based on NACE sectors. Nonetheless these two approaches allow us to get a broad estimation of the size of the civil society sector and the non-profit/social profit sector and its share within the Flemish labour market, as well as the evolution of the sector over time.

2.2.1 Growth in the social profit sector and civil society sector?

In 2014 there were 22,354 employers in the social profit sector in Belgium, which together employed 486,947 employees. This implies a share of 8.38% of all Belgian employers and 14.31% of all employees (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012; Malfait, 2014) (Table 2.3). Thus the social profit sector clearly comprises a significant share of the Belgian economy.

Between 2008 and 2014 a clear growth of the number of employers and employees can be observed, both in actual numbers and in the share within the economy. In 2008 about 11.81% of the employees was working in the social profit sector, while this share has risen to 14.31% in 2014, which is a notable growth of the employment in social profit of more than 1/5th. For the whole Flemish labour market the growth is much more modest, with an employment growth of 1.02 percent points between 2008 and 2014 (Table 2.3).

This strong growth of the social profit sector is also reflected in the subsectors. For employees in PC 329 we see an employment growth of 15% between 2008 and 2014, for PC 331 a growth of 41% and for PC 337 even a quadruplication of the employment. Nonetheless this last observations is also linked to the recent formation of the joint committee and the shift of employees who before were categorised in other joint committees (PC 100, PC 200 and PC 218) (Table 2.4).

10 In Dutch: paritair comité

Table 2.3 **Number of employers and employees in Belgium, for the Flemish labour market in total and the social profit sector, with details for subsectors (based on Joint Committees): PC 329 (social-cultural sector), PC 331 (welfare sector), PC 337 (other establishments of the non-profit sector) and PC 200 (supplementary national joint committee for white-collar workers)**

	Employers				Employees			
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2008	2010	2012	2014
Flemish labour market	276,874	275,153	273,324	226,776	3,367,228	3,414,078	3,397,580	3,401,701
Social profit sector	16,971	19,088	21,345	22,354	397,639	435,554	467,014	486,947
% social profit in labour market	6.13%	6.94%	7.81%	8.38%	11.81%	12.91%	13.75%	14.31%

Source RSZ-ONS administrative statistics

Table 2.4 **Number of employees in Belgium in PC 329 (social-cultural sector), PC 331 (welfare sector), PC 337 (other establishments of the non-profit sector) and PC 200 (supplementary national joint committee for white-collar workers) and employment growth (baseline 2008)**

	Employees (numbers)				Growth (baseline 2008)			
	2008	2010	2012	2014	2008	2010	2012	2014
PC 329	41,733	45,245	47,136	47,851	100	108	113	115
PC 331	7,918	9,916	11,130	11,776	100	125	141	149
PC 337	14,713	24,461	31,524	42,674	100	166	214	290
PC 200	63,344	43,900	38,332	18,271	100	69	61	29

Source RSZ-ONS administrative statistics

2.2.2 Profile of a CSO professional: female, older, highly educated, native and white-collar

In our study the focus is on Flemish CSOs and the CSO professionals active in these organisations. Research (in terms of employment and job quality) on the civil society sector – as defined within the CSI Flanders project[11] - is scarce. Some studies on parts of civil society sector and more broadly on the non-profit or third sector in Flanders and other countries allow us the make a profile of the professional in CSOs. For Flanders we only find good statistics on the social profit or third sector in general (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012; Malfait, 2014). Internationally, the study of Mirvis & Hackett (1983) is one of the oldest and gives a profile of the non-profit workforce in the US at the end of the seventies. Leete (2006) gives a similar profile of the US non-profit workers. (Rubery & Urwin, 2011) concentrate more specifically on the social care workforce in England. McMullen and Schellenberg (2003) take a broader perspective on the non-profit sector in Canada, including following subsectors: culture, recreation and associations; health; education and social services; and other non-profit industries. In an overview report, Eborall (2003) describes the state of the social care workforce in England.

11 See typology note of the CSI Flanders project (forthcoming) on www.middenveldinnovatie.be

The non-profit sector is **dominated by women**. Statistics from the sector employers' organisation Verso[12] regarding the Flemish social profit (in 2004, 2009 and 2014) reveal a very large share of women in the sector: about 78% of the employees are women (Table 2.4). Similar findings come forward in the report of the Flemish government on the social profit sector in 2012, which states 78.3% of the employees in the sector are women, compared to 46,9% women in the total Flemish labour market (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012). This finding also holds for the non-profit sector in other Western countries, with the share of women ranging between 66.6% in the non-profit sector in the US and 90% in the social care sector in England (Eborall, 2003; Leete, 2006; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Rubery & Urwin, 2011).

A second finding is the **overrepresentation of older workers (50+) and underrepresentation of workers under age 25**. Although the figures (Table 2.5) show the general ageing of the Flemish workforce (from 18% workers above age 50 in 2004 to 27% in 2014), we notice an even stronger ageing of the social profit sector (with almost 30% of the employees aged 50 or older in 2014, and the share of young workers diminishing over time ('Kenmerken werkgelegenheid', 2014). The report of the Flemish government (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012) show an alarming trend when looking at the ratio between young (under age 25) and old (age 50 and above) employees in the different subsectors of the social profit (by Joint Committees). For nearly all of the Joint Committees we can see this ratio steadily dropping between 2005 and 2011. Since 2008 onwards the number of old employees exceeds the number of young employees within the social sector (an important turning point, which does not take place for the entire labour market until 2010). The social sector in Flanders is clearly a sector which is facing the challenges of the ageing workforce. A similar trend is discussed by Eborall (2003), who reports that the social care workforce in England is ageing at that is mostly due to an increase of the proportion of older workers and a decrease of the younger age group.

Table 2.5 Workers in the social profit sector in comparison with the total Flemish labour market, in 2004, 2009 and 2014, by gender and age

		2004		2009		2014	
		Social profit sector	Flemish labour market	Social profit sector	Flemish labour market	Social profit sector	Flemish labour market
Gender	Women	78.1%	43.8%	78.4%	46.4%	78.1%	47.7%
	Men	21.9%	56.2%	21.6%	53.6%	21.9%	52.3%
Age	< 25 years	8.7%	11.5%	7.6%	9.5%	7.1%	8.1%
	25-49 years	76.3%	70.3%	69.5%	68.0%	62.9%	65.0%
	> 49 years	15.1%	18.2%	22.8%	22.5%	29.9%	26.9%

Source http://www.verso-net.be

Further CSO professionals tend to be somewhat **higher educated** (Leete, 2006; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Mirvis, 1992) and are mostly employed in **white-collar jobs**: in the Flemish social profit about 74% of the employees has a white-collar employment statute (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012; Malfait, 2014).

Diversity – in racial composition – seems to be **smaller** in social profit and non-profit sectors (Leete, 2006). Within the Flemish social profit sector only 3% of the employees does not have the Belgian nationality (compared to 5.4% of the workers in the total Flemish labour market) (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012). Correspondingly the vast majority of the social care workforce in England are

12 http://www.verso-net.be

white employees (more than 94%). Only about 2.5% were non-British employees (Eborall, 2003). Within the social profit sector in Flanders only 8.9% of the employees do not have the Belgian nationality or only recently acquired the Belgian nationality, while this is the case for 12.7% of the employees in the Flemish labour market ('Kenmerken werkgelegenheid', 2014).

Professionals in CSOs are mostly employed in **small workplaces** with less than 10 employees (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003). For the Flemish social profit sector there are substantial differences in company size across the subsectors: in the human health care sector and the arts, entertainment and recreation sector we find more small organisations compared to the total labour market. In the social services sector however, we see a large share (21%) of organisations with 50 up to 199 employees and only 42% organisations with less than 10 employees (Table 2.6).

Table 2.6 Percentage of establishments by company size and subsector of social profit in Flanders (2013)

	Human health care	Societal services	Art, amusement and recreation	Flemish labour market
	NACE Rev.2: 86	NACE Rev.2: 87 & 88	NACE Rev.2: 90, 91, 92 & 93	All NACE Rev.2 categories
1-9 employees	86%	42%	79%	77%
10-49 employees	8%	34%	20%	18%
50-199 employees	3%	21%	2%	4%
> 200 employees	3%	4%	0%	1%

Source RSZ – decentralised statistics (from Steunpunt WSE) found on http://www.verso-net.be

2.3 Job quality

International studies – mainly from the UK and the US - on social profit professional work allow us to get a first view or impression of the (potential) job quality in the sector in terms of work organisation, employment conditions and social relations. In addition it gives us insight in the difference in job satisfaction between non-profit and for-profit professionals. However, the studies are more based on sectoral comparisons and less on comparing occupations. In other words, broader categories of jobs are compared between sectors (in particular not-for-profit and for-profit). Nevertheless, these studies and reports give some hints on how professional jobs in civil society organisations look like in general. We will use this job quality picture as a kind of starting point for discussing the possible impact of societal pressures on the job quality.

2.3.1 Job quality in CSOs

a) A multidimensional model to study job quality

Holman defines job quality as "the extent to which a job has work and employment-related factors that foster beneficial outcomes for the employee, particularly psychological well-being, physical well-being and positive attitudes such as job satisfaction." (Holman, 2012, p. 4). It is a about modelling, designing and regulating job characteristics and the work environment. Job quality is a **multidimensional concept** which can be approached in many different ways depending from the perspective which is taken and the objectives for which it is used. Job quality can be approached through the assessment of (objective) characteristics of the job, but also indicators on outcomes related to job quality, such as health, job satisfaction, job security, etc.

The variety of work and employment-related factors or job characteristics can be classified into a set of broad categories or dimensions. The literature suggests several models to classify the job characteristics, which mostly consist of three to five dimensions. We use the **WES model**[13] with three dimensions which reflects the majority of the literature (Munoz de Bustillo, Fernandez-Macias, Esteve, & Anton, 2011): work organisation (W), employment conditions (E), and social relations (S). The dimension 'work organisation' comprises the job contents (e.g. autonomy, task complexity), work organisation (e.g. teamwork, planning autonomy) and working conditions (e.g. risks, workplace) although these three categories sometimes tend to overlap. The dimension 'employment conditions' concerns the contractual elements of the job and the transfers to the individual and private life, such as pay, working hours and work schedule, training and career opportunities. The third dimension, 'social relations' covers the social work climate and the formal and informal social relations (Table 2.7) (Lamberts et al., 2016; Ramioul, Szekér, & Vandekerckhove, 2014).

Table 2.7 Job characteristics classified in the three dimensions of the WES model

Work organisation	Employment conditions	Social relations
Task autonomy	Wage	Employee representation
Task complexity	Wage basket	Say/participation
Autonomous team work	Permanent contract	Social support
Planning autonomy	Full time work	Supportive management
Repetitive tasks	Working time flexibility	Asocial behaviour
Emotional pressure	Atypical working time arrangements	
Speed pressure	Career opportunities	
Risks (musculoskeletal, ambient and biochemical)	Training	
Fixed workplace		

* These are examples of job characteristics for each of the three dimensions of the WES model, as used in the studies of Ramioul et al. (2014) and Lamberts et al. (2016).

Table 2.8 Direct and indirect outcomes related to job quality

Indicators related to job attitudes	Indicators related to feelings of security	Indicators related to health and well-being
Job satisfaction	Job security	General health
Job sustainability	Labour market security	Physical health
Absenteeism		Mental health
Presenteeism		Impact of work on health
		Psychological well-being

* These are examples of the indicators for direct and indirect outcomes, as used in the studies of Ramioul et al. (2014) and Lamberts et al. (2016).

Further we can discern **direct and indirect outcomes of job quality** for the individual employees. Direct outcomes can be directly linked to the job and job quality and are a representation of the present job quality, such as the job satisfaction, the job security, the engagement and commitment of an employee for the job and organisation. Indirect outcomes can to some extent be linked to the job quality, but this relationship is less direct and more interfering elements can also have an impact on these indicators. Indirect outcomes often also are a result of the longer term – cumulative – effects of job quality, for

13 In Dutch: WTA model: Werk, Tewerkstelling en Arbeidsverhoudingen – simplification of the 4A's & 5A's models (Vandekerckhove, Szekér, & Lamberts, 2016).

example physical and mental health of the employee (which is not only linked with work, but can be impacted through the job), psychological well-being, burn-out, etc. (Table 2.8).

b) Job characteristics

The work organisation of jobs in civil society organisations can be assessed by investigating the different job resources and job demands of the job (Demerouti & Bakker, 2011; Karasek, 1979). In civil society sector professionals seem to have more job resources than in business firms: in many cases they have more autonomy in doing their job (Mirvis & Hackett, 1983) and possibilities to work independently (Onyx & Maclean, 1996). Their jobs are more challenging and have more variety and less repetitive and routine work (de Mûelenaere, Verstraete, & Van Waes, n.d.; Leete, 2006; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Onyx & Maclean, 1996; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). Job demands on the other hand are also high. Civil society professionals experience higher levels of emotional pressures, related to client interactions and the human/emotional nature of their work (de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). These employees also more often report high time pressure, work stress and tight deadlines and pressure due to role stress and role conflict and lack of clarity in job duties (de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983).

At first sight the employment conditions in the civil society sector seem to be less advantageous than in for-profit. There is more temporary work (Leete, 2006; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003). In the UK zero hour contracts are also more common in this sector (Rubery & Urwin, 2011)[14] Further higher amounts of overtime – and especially unpaid overtime – are reported (Almond & Kendall, 2000; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003).

Flexible work arrangements are very common in CSOs: there is much flexibility in start and stop times and schedule flexibility which allows workers to adapt their working time to other duties or to work during hours which are more appropriate to reach the target group. However these flexible work arrangements are not always family friendly (which regular morning, evening and weekend work) (Almond & Kendall, 2000; de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.; Leete, 2006; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Rubery & Urwin, 2011).

Wages in non-profit tend to be lower than in for-profit and this wage gap is most prevalent for the higher occupation jobs in the field, namely managerial and professional staff (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Mirvis, 1992; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). Also variable pay and fringe benefits are less common in NPOs (de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003). Nonetheless professionals in NPOs do not rate their compensation as less fair than for-profit employees – despite the fact that they acknowledge that their wages and benefits are less favourable (Mirvis & Hackett, 1983).

A strong characteristic of non-profit jobs is the high level of part-time work (up to more than half of the workforce working part-time), which is way above the labour market average for both men and women (Leete, 2006; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). In the Flemish social profit sector part-time work is also common. However details on the extent of the part-time work teach us that 35% of the part-time workers work about 3/4th or more of the full-time hours, another 37,5% works half of the time and only 4,6% work less than 45% of a full-time job (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012).

In terms of training and career opportunities research is not conclusive. Some studies report higher levels of training and more efforts to promote skill development in civil society organisations (Almond & Kendall, 2000; Leete, 2006). Non-profit employees report more opportunities to develop skills (in self-reports) (Onyx & Maclean, 1996) and a better match between the job and education/skills (Mirvis & Hackett, 1983). Leete (2006) further also reports more career and promotion opportunities – although glass ceilings for women also seem to exist in non-profit organisations. However other studies point

14 A zero-hour contract is a type of contract between an employer and a worker, where the employer is not obliged to provide any minimum working hours, while the worker is not obliged to accept any work offered. The employee may sign an agreement to be available for work as and when required, so that no particular number of hours or times of work are specified. It is practice that is not allowed in a Belgian labour law context, where minimum hour requirements are a necessary part of an employment contract.

towards the opposite situation: low opportunities for training and development and little career advancement possibilities (de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.).

Regarding social relations little is discussed in civil society sector research. Feedback on work (by colleagues and supervisors) is lower in CSO jobs (which can be linked to the higher levels of autonomy and individual work) (Mirvis & Hackett, 1983). On the other hand the quality of contact with colleagues is higher in CSOs (Onyx & Maclean, 1996). In a context where team work is possible, this is often much appreciated and seen as important to deal with the emotional pressures related to the work. Other employees mainly work alone, at the premises of the clients. Then they often feel lonely and have a clear need and desire for interaction with colleagues (de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.).

c) Direct and indirect outcomes: finding regarding job satisfaction

Where outcomes of job quality in the non-profit or civil society sector are studied, the focus is mainly on the job satisfaction of these employees. Most studies on job satisfaction in NPOs find higher levels of job satisfaction (Benz, 2005; Leete, 2006; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). Several researchers point to potential explanations for these higher levels of job satisfaction despite the lower wages, such as higher intrinsic rewards coming from the work itself, strong beliefs of doing work that is worthwhile and meaningful (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Rubery & Urwin, 2011) – arguments which we will further develop in the next part of this paper.

d) Impact of volunteers on the job quality of CSO professionals

Volunteers are an inherent part of CSOs. Consequently interacting and cooperating with volunteers is a significant part of the job of CSO professionals and their day-to-day activities. Therefore it is inevitable that these volunteers have an impact on the job quality of CSO professionals. CSO professionals often indicate that they have ambiguous feelings regarding the relations with volunteers. On the one hand they are positive about the interactions with volunteers and they see it as a pleasant and motivating aspect of their job. On the other hand they also indicate that the interactions with volunteers require a lot of time and energy. It has a large impact on their working hours and work-life balance, since CSO professionals have to match their working hours with the moments on which volunteers are available. CSO professionals often have the feeling they have to balance their time between giving attention and support to volunteers on the one hand and doing their own tasks and activities on the other hand, tasks which they cannot neglect either. In some cases this might bring about high workload, overtime and work-life conflicts. Further CSO professionals struggle with the question to which extent they should guide volunteers in their engagement and steer them in other directions when necessary. How can they redirect volunteers without discouraging them in their engagement and motivation for the project and organisation (de Mûelenaere et al., n.d.; Vivo, n.d.).

2.3.2 Job types as a first indication?

Data on quality of jobs in the civil society sector in Flanders are scarce. If job quality is researched, the study often focuses on specific job characteristics or subsectors. This does not allow us to say whether the job quality in the civil society sector and social profit in Flanders or Belgium is better or worse than in other sectors. Job types are profiles of jobs in which a specific combination of job characteristics is found, and which allow to make a general assessment of the job quality of that job type. The job types methodology is very useful to compare job quality across groups, such as sectors (Lamberts et al., 2016).

Using the Belgian data of the European Working Conditions Survey of 2010 and 2015 of Eurofound[15] we could discern six job types in Belgium[16] using latent profile analysis. For two job types the job quality

15 https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-working-conditions-surveys

16 Detailed information on the methodology regarding the construction of the indicators for the job characteristics and the job type metholodology can be found in Lamberts, Szekér, Vandekerckhove, et.al. (2016)

seems to be good or very good, namely 'saturated work' – which are called saturated because these jobs have high scores on the majority of both favourable and unfavourable job characteristics – and 'balanced work' – with a balanced pattern of autonomy, discretion and job resources on one hand (job characteristics which are positive for the job quality) and job demands such as speed pressure and flexibility demands on the other hand (job characteristics which have a negative effect on the job quality). In the case of 'saturated work' the question arises whether the high scores on most of the job characteristics in the long run do not turn out to be too much of a good thing. In the short run high levels of autonomy, complexity and speed pressure might seems to lead to interesting and good jobs, but on the long run they might bring some health risks with them (e.g. burn-out risks).

The third job type, 'supported work', also gives us a generally favourable picture of job quality. Typical for this job type is that these employees experience high levels of social and work-related support from their colleagues and superiors, and that teamwork is very frequent. Nevertheless the high prevalence of part-time work, linked with lower wages and limited career opportunities are important aspects that might bring the job quality down. The job type of 'work with limited support and development opportunities' show a combination of favourable (moderate autonomy, low speed pressure and emotional pressure, regular working hours) and several unfavourable job characteristics, such as part-time work, lower wages, limited or no training possibilities and career opportunities, limited social support and high levels of asocial behaviours on the work floor, which in total leads to a lower assessment of the job quality of this job type.

For the last two job types the negative job characteristics are more profound. In the 'heavy repetitive and flexible work' job type there are certain job characteristics which strongly weigh on the job quality, namely the fact that this is often physically demanding and risky work, which is very repetitive and often also rather complex, as well as the high levels of speed pressure and emotional pressures and high demands for flexibility (in terms of working hours, shift work, work schedules, place of work, etc.). In 'high-strain work' the set of specific job characteristics give us a negative image of job quality across the line. In this job types we find no favourable job characteristics which can compensate the effects of the negative job characteristics.

These job types allow us to focus on specific sectors and compare the distribution of the job types across sectors and thus make an assessment of the overall job quality in a sector. For this perspective we calculated the distribution of the job types in certain subsectors of the overall Belgian civil society and social profit sector, using the NACE rev.2 classifications. Table 2.8 gives an overview of the distributions of the job types for the total Belgian labour market and for the following subsectors: the socio-cultural sector (NACE 90, 91, 92, 93 and 94), the welfare sector (NACE 87 and 88), the educational sector (NACE 85) and the human health care sector (NACE 86).

When comparing specific subsectors with each other and the overall distribution of job types in the Belgian economy we can notice considerable differences. The care related sectors (human health care and welfare sectors) are the most eye catching with a very high occurrence of one of the most problematic job types, namely 'heavy repetitive and flexible work'. In the social-cultural sector we see that the more favourable job types are more often present. In this sector we see a much higher prevalence of 'saturated work' (23.8% of the employees compared to 12.3% in the overall Belgian economy) and 'supported work' (24.3% compared to 16.7%), while the other four job types are less frequent. In the welfare sector the job types 'supported work' (21.9%) and 'heavy repetitive and flexible work' (28.2%) take a much larger share of the distribution (compared to the overall distribution of job types in the Belgian economy). In the educational sector the two mediocre job types with much part-time work are more dominant: 28.9% of the employees in this sector have 'supported work', and another 36.6% have 'work with limited support and development opportunities'. In the human health care sector more than a third of the employees (35.1%) works in 'have repetitive and flexible work', a rather demanding and unfavourable job type (compared to 17.6% in the overall Belgian economy).

Table 2.9 Distribution of the job types in the social-cultural sector, the welfare sector, education and the human health care sector in Belgium, and in comparison with the general distribution of the job types in Belgium – merged data of the EWCS 2010 and 2015*

	Social-cultural sector	Welfare sector	Education	Human health care sector	Belgium – all sectors
Saturated work	23.8%	7.4%	8.3%	10%	12.3%
Balanced work	15.8%	17.5%	15.7%	20.4%	22.1%
Supported work	24.3%	21.9%	28.9%	15.8%	16.7%
Work with limited support and development opportunities	20%	18.5%	36.6%	13.5%	22.1%
Heavy repetitive and flexible work	11%	28.2%	9%	35.1%	17.6%
High strain work	4.9%	6.4%	1.6%	5.2%	9.3%

* https://www.eurofound.europa.eu/surveys/european-working-conditions-survey
Source Lamberts et al. (2016) and own calculations

We can thus notice that certain job types are more prevalent within the social profit and civil society sectors. On the one hand the qualitatively mediocre job types, with high frequency of part-time work, namely 'supported work' and to a lesser extent 'work with limited support and development opportunities' take a much larger share of the distribution in these sectors. On the other hand the unfavourable job type of 'heavily repetitive and flexible work' takes a large (and more extensive) part of the distribution. Within the social-cultural sector we further see that 'saturated work' – a more favourable job types – is much more prevalent. However we should note that we cannot exclude that this job type in the longer run might have a negative impact on the well-being and the health of these employees.

2.3.3 Conclusion

Taken together we can identify several characteristics of CSO jobs which may give rise to a precarious work situation for the employees, such as the high levels of part time work and temporary contracts, the lower wages compared to the profit sector and the high flexibility requirements, as well as the substantial amounts of speed pressure and work pressures and emotional demands linked to the jobs. However, some positive job characteristics can also be noticed. The high levels of autonomy, task variety and challenging, non-routine work are identified as main positive elements, as well as the flexibility which is given to employees, allowing them to find a good fit between work and other responsibilities. Additionally the development opportunities and career prospects which are present or absent might further influence the job quality in CSOs.

In line with these findings the analysis of the distribution of job quality types in certain subsectors of the social profit and civil society sector is to a certain extent alarming. Especially the much higher prevalence of one of the most unfavourable job types – 'heavily repetitive and flexible work' – in the human health care and welfare sectors, and the much lower prevalence of the most favourable job types and especially of 'balanced work' in these social profit and civil society sector. Further the high frequency of 'saturated work' in the social-cultural sector should be kept in mind as this job type might have negative implications for the employees in the longer run.

2.4 The motivational factor as intervening variable

The assessment of the job quality in CSOs on the basis of individual job characteristics as well as job types – which gives us some alarming signs regarding the quality of these jobs - gives rise to the question 'why CSO professionals choose to work in CSO jobs and do not opt for a job within the for-profit sector with more favourable job characteristics?'. This question becomes even more pressing in the light of research findings of higher levels of job satisfaction for CSO professionals – despite less favourable working conditions and/or lower wages (Becchetti, Castriota, & Depedri, 2014; Benz, 2005; Leete, 2006; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Word, 2011).

From across disciplines (economy, psychology, sociology, etc.) the academic literature puts forward several theories which can serve as explanations for this remarkable determination: the donative labour hypothesis, differential conditions hypothesis, concept of public service motivation, theories regarding work value orientations and the self-determination theory. Despite different perspectives and approaches these theories all have a common idea, namely that they see the motivational factor as an important intervening variable.

However, we can discern two distinct approaches across these theories. The first approach sees the jobs itself as the explanatory factor. Jobs in CSOs have different and more intrinsic motivating and intrinsically rewarding characteristics than jobs in for-profit organisations. These inherent differences between the jobs in CSOs and for-profit organisations are the explanation for the differences in among others job satisfaction (in general and for specific job aspects) between the employees of the respective sectors. Theories which start from this approach are among others the differential conditions hypothesis and the theories regarding work value orientations. The second approach starts from the idea that there are clear and distinct differences between employees in CSOs and employees in for-profit organisations, in terms of personal preferences and expectations, which feed their higher intrinsic motivation. Differences in job satisfaction, organisational commitment, etc. are solely explained by the fact that other types of people are working in CSOs compared to for-profit organisations. We find this approach among others in the donative labour hypothesis. Some other theories bring the two approaches together and discuss the importance of a good fit or match between de preferences and expectations of the employee and the characteristics of the job, such as the public service motivation theory and the Self-determination theory.

2.4.1 The donative labour hypothesis and differential conditions hypothesis

Studies focussing on the 'objective' wage differentials and more recently on the broader 'subjective' differences in job satisfaction between non-profit and for-profit workers point towards motivational factors as main explanatory variable (Benz, 2005; Borzaga & Tortia, 2006; Freidman, 2010). In this light two contesting hypotheses are formulated to explain the (wage) differentials: the donative labour hypothesis and the differential conditions hypothesis (Leete, 2006). The first hypothesis departs from the individual or personal motivational traits of the worker, the second hypothesis stresses the intrinsic motivational qualities of the job itself that leads to 'acceptance' or 'satisfaction' with the differentials.

The donative labour hypothesis starts from the premise that non-profit workers are prepared to forego a part of their wage in exchange for other elements of the job which they find valuable and in which they see non-monetary utility, such as the opportunity to produce a public good, a moral goal, etc. (Almond & Kendall, 2000; Benz, 2005; Frank, 1996; Freidman, 2010; Leete, 2006; Rose-Ackerman, 1996), or as described by Preston (1989 in Benz, 2005, p. 158) non-profit workers are *"willing to donate labour to the production of a public good they find valuable"*.

Research investigating the donative labour hypothesis has not been conclusive until today. Some studies find support for the donative labour hypothesis (Becchetti, Castriota, & Depedri, 2010; Becchetti et al., 2014; Benz, 2005; Borzaga & Tortia, 2006) while other studies contradict the thesis (Freidman, 2010; Leete, 2006; Ruhm & Borkoski, 2003). On the other hand, some studies deny the donative labour hypothesis. Leete (2006) found that the wage differential disappeared after controlling for a number of

characteristics. Likewise Freidman (2010) concluded that much more aspects (such as age, race, sex, education, sector, etc.) should be taken into account in the prediction of the wage differential. In his study he found limited support for the donative labour hypothesis, although it appeared not to be the most important element in predicting wages and in explaining the wage differential.

The differential conditions hypothesis points towards observable and unobservable differences in the job characteristics (conditions and pressures) and job requirements as explanation for the lower wages in non-profits (Freidman, 2010; Word, 2011). Employees in non-profit organisations are paid less simply because they also do different jobs, and that demand for this type of work and skills is lower (and consequently paid less) (Jones, 2012).

Findings from the study of Jones (2012) bolster the differential conditions hypothesis. Given this hypothesis, Jones expected that the wage differential should disappear when labour demand rises in the non-profit sector – an expectation which was confirmed in his analysis. The conclusions of Becchetti and colleagues (2010, 2014) address the same question. They compare employees who voluntary or involuntary made the shift from the for-profit sector to the non-profit sector. If personality traits would explain why people (deliberately) choosing for non-profit work have higher job satisfaction (e.g. that these people simply have higher levels of satisfaction than other workers), we can expect that job satisfaction is only higher for voluntary movers. However, Becchetti and colleagues (2014) find that that both groups have higher job satisfaction after the shift, hinting at the intrinsically motivating nature of non-profit work. In addition – and in support of the donative labour hypothesis – they find that the majority of the voluntary movers end up with higher levels of job satisfaction despite lower wages. Thus research on the donative labour hypothesis and the differential conditions hypothesis until today has been inconclusive on whether the observed differences are due to the fact that there are other jobs or other employees in CSOs.

2.4.2 Intrinsic motivations and public service motivation

Scholars widely acknowledge the role of non-monetary - intrinsic - motivations in the choice to work in non-profit organisations. Looking at intrinsic motivations more generally – going beyond trying to explain reward differences - can provide a broader framework than the donative labour hypothesis (which merely focuses on the exchange relation between monetary rewards and motivating job characteristics in the choice for a job) and differential conditions hypothesis (which points towards inherent personal differences between employees in non-profit versus profit jobs as explanation). These frameworks can help to understand the motivational differentials of people working in CSOs.

Already in the early eighties Hansmann (1980) argues that CSO professionals are motivated by the ideas or vision of the organisation rather than by business gain and that these CSO professionals highly appreciate the nature of non-profit work. This discourse is followed by many others referring to a preference to work for a socially responsible employer (Frank, 1996) and to several intrinsically motivating elements of non-profit jobs (Bode, 2004; Brookings, 2002; Eborall, 2003; Light, 2002; Mirvis, 1992; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Onyx & Maclean, 1996; Word, 2011). Table 2.10 gives an overview of motives for non-profit work, as discussed in several studies on non-profit work. Motives frequently mentioned are – among others – 'the opportunity to make a difference and do something worthwhile', 'opportunities of serving a common good' and 'opportunities for social action'.

The nature of the job somehow encourages non-profit employees to accept certain negative aspects of the job and to do additional efforts which are not formally required. Hebson and colleagues (2015) report how residential and domiciliary care workers indicated to be dissatisfied about their employment conditions, such as working times, staff shortages, low pay and emotional stress, but perceived these elements as inferior for themselves. Their job satisfaction appeared to be strongly linked to among others the opportunity to help people and to build a relationship with users. Some employees mentioned they were *"lucky to be able to do this [job], not everyone can, some need pay"* (p.326) designating that in

their job choice these employees make a trade-off between their altruism and the rewarding nature of the job on the one hand and the need for financial gains on the other hand.

Several authors refer to a kind of 'mystique' which employees develop about the organisation (Leete, 2006) and which entails an acceptance of negative job characteristics and circumstances as an integral part of the work and organisations mission (Mirvis & Hackett, 1983). Employees in non-profit organisations are often highly committed to the mission and goals of the organisations, having the feeling *"the job is not over at the end of the shift"* (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003). This dedication increases their willingness to accept unfavourable working conditions such as high workloads, unpaid overtime, work in understaffed situations (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003).

Table 2.10 Overview of intrinsically motivating elements of non-profit work or civil society work*

Motivation	Authors
Meaningfulness of work	Mirvis & Hackett (1983)
Accomplishing something worthwhile in job	Mann (2006); Mirvis & Hackett (1983)
Organisation which is good at helping people – trust in organisation to do the right things	Brookings (2002)
Feelings of accomplishment, self-respect, doing job well – chance to do things they do best	Brookings (2002); Mann (2006); Mirvis & Hackett (1983)
Opportunities for social action	Onyx & Maclean (1996)
Opportunity to make a difference	Brookings (2002); Eborall (2003); Hebson, Rubery, & Grimshaw (2015); Light (2002); Mann (2006)
Opportunity to help people	Hebson et al. (2015); Mann (2006)
Opportunity to build a relationship with users	Hebson et al. (2015)
Serving a common good	Mann (2006); Word (2011)
Work as a 'calling'	Mann (2006); Word (2011)
Sense of responsibility and integrity	Mann (2006)

* This table is not exhaustive but gives an overview of motivations for work in non-profit organisations from a set of studies on these organisations and CSO professionals.

Within the context of studies on the public sector and public services the concept of **'public service motivation' (PSM)** is often used (Perry, 2000). Public Service Motivation is a specific type of intrinsic motivation and *"refers to the motivation individuals have to contribute to the public interest, or to society at large, disregarding their own interests"* (Vandenabeele et al., 2009, p. 3). A central premise in the Public Service Motivation theory is that work behaviours are not only determined by rational choices, but that normative and affective motives also have an influence on the behaviour and choices. (Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Perry, 2000). The concept of PSM is often linked with better organisational outcomes in public organisations, such as job performance, willingness to exert effort, organisational commitment and more job satisfaction (Leisink & Steijn, 2009; Vandenabeele, 2009). Mann (2006) initially also studied the Public Service Motivation with the focus on employees in public organisations. However in a later stage he adapts this view, stating that *"the non-profit sector, not government, is the place to go for people who want to serve their communities and country today"* (Light, 2002). In his study Mann (2006) compared non-profit workers with government workers and for-profit works and found that non-profit workers showed a stronger 'service motivation'.

Taking non-monetary, intrinsic motivations into account and the concept of Public Service Motivation can help us to understand why employees prefer a job in a civil society organisation regardless the less favourable working conditions. Nonetheless the dichotomy in approaches remains. What is making the motivational difference which leads to a different judgement of or satisfaction with working conditions and job quality: the 'rewarding' job characteristics of the job, the personal engagements and preferences or the 'fit' between both aspects? Or is the match between job characteristics and personal preferences the most important element?

2.4.3 Intrinsic work value orientations

Focusing solely on the work context, frameworks regarding work values or work value orientations make a distinction between different types of values related to work. These are the values which a person seeks within his or her work at a given moment in time and can change over time and work situations. In our review this theorizing on work values is important because these studies show how the belief of workers in particular value orientations lead to a higher or lower chance of negative/positive job outcomes (like turn-over or burn-out). These frameworks thus point to the differences in employees (i.e. the values they hold) as the explanatory element. Although most of these studies are not covering CSO employees in particular, they can help us to formulate the hypothesis that the (potential) intrinsic motivational difference of CSO professionals acts as an important, positive intervening variable to investigate the impact of changes in organisations, tasks and working conditions on the job outcomes for the involved professionals.

Ros, Schwartz and Surkiss (1999) discern four groups of **work values**. The first group are the 'intrinsic or self-actualisation values'. These values show an orientation toward autonomy, growth, interest in the work itself, creativity, ... Secondly, workers with 'social or relational values' perceive work mainly as a manner to build social relations and to contribute to society. Thirdly, 'extrinsic or security or material values' are preferences for material outcomes of work, such as income, and security outcomes, such as financial security, job security, ... Finally 'prestige or power values' are the orientation towards gaining prestige, influence, power and authority from work and to have achievements in work.

Another approach to work values are the **work value orientations**[17], which are *"work-related reinforcement preferences, or tendencies to value specific types of incentives in the work environment"* (Malka & Chatman, 2003, p. 739). People with intrinsic work value orientations have a strong preference for the content aspects of the work, such as autonomy, opportunities for actualization and growth, self-development, challenges and task mastery opportunities, creative self-expression, possibilities to build meaningful relationships with colleagues and to help people in need (Kasser & Ryan, 1996; Malka & Chatman, 2003; Van Ruysseveldt & Smulders, 2008; Vansteenkiste et al., 2007). Extrinsic work value orientations are preferences for (high) remuneration, status and prestige, possibilities to advance up in the organizational hierarchy, etc. (Van Ruysseveldt & Smulders, 2008; Vansteenkiste et al., 2007; Watts, 1992). For these people work is in primary a way to attain an income (Malka & Chatman, 2003).

Thus we may classify the 'intrinsic and self-actualisation values' and the 'social or relational values' of Ros and colleagues (1999) as intrinsic work value orientations. The 'extrinsic or security or material values' and the 'prestige or power values' can be classified as extrinsic work value orientations.

Intrinsic and extrinsic work value orientations can be linked to certain **positive and negative outcomes** for the workers. Vansteenkiste and colleagues (2007) found that extrinsic work value orientations - in comparison with intrinsic work value orientations - were linked to more negative outcomes for the employees, such as higher levels of emotional exhaustion and higher turn-over intentions, as well as with lower levels of positive outcomes like less job satisfaction, lower dedication to work and less vitality. In line with this, Van Ruysseveldt and Smulders (2008) found that intrinsic work value orientations were

17 In Dutch 'intrinsieke en extrinsieke arbeidsoriëntatie' (Van Ruysseveldt & Smulders, 2008)

related with lower levels of exhaustion. Further these intrinsic work value orientations moderated the relation between speed pressure and exhaustion (buffered the positive effect of speed pressure) and between autonomy and exhaustion (strengthened the negative effect of autonomy). Put differently workers with intrinsic work value orientations experienced less negative impact of speed pressure and more positive impact of autonomy, which both limited the exhaustion they experience. Malka and Chatman (2003) looked at the relationship between work value orientations and subjective well-being and job satisfaction, and the role of earnings in this relationship. For workers with high intrinsic work value orientation they found a negative relation between earnings and subjective well-being – or in other words a lower well-being for workers with higher earnings. For those with extrinsic work value orientation they found a positive relation between earnings and both job satisfaction and subjective well-being. These workers were more satisfied and had a better well-being when they earned more money.

2.4.4 Self-determination theory (SDT)

The **self-determination theory (SDT)** also sheds a light on the differences in motivation between employees and can help to better understand the intervening role which motivation plays within civil society organisations and the behaviour of their professionals. Although developed for a broad perspective on motivation in general, the self-determination theory is often applied to the work context. This theory provides a model on how both characteristics of the person and the work context together will determine the motivation of the employee.

The self-determination theory postulates that people have **three basic psychological needs:** autonomy, competence and relatedness (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000). The need for autonomy implies that people want to have the feeling they can freely choose what they do, how they organise for example their work and that they can see the importance or relevance of their activities. People feel competent when they can do things in which they are good and can develop their talents. The need for relatedness refers to the need to have good relationships with people (e.g. at work, in leisure activities, ...) (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Van den Broeck, 2016). The extent to which the three basic psychological needs are satisfied is determined by the characteristics of the person and the specific context. For example one person will feel related to his colleagues when they have a nice chat during lunch, while another person needs to have frequent long and personal conversations with a colleague to feel related. Also the context can foster or restrict the satisfaction of the needs. Giving regular feedback and support to employees can enhance their feeling of competence. On the other hand a work context in which a worker has to do a predetermined set of meaningless tasks without any choice might frustrate the need for autonomy.

A person's motivation for a certain activity will be determined by the extent to which these three needs are satisfied related to that activity. Motivation can be placed on a **continuum from 'amotivation' to 'intrinsic motivation'** (Figure 2.1). When the basic psychological needs are satisfied the person will have a better – more intrinsic and more self-determined motivation (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Gagné & Deci, 2005; Van den Broeck, Ferris, Chang, & Rosen, 2016).

Figure 2.1 The self-determination continuum

	Non self-determined					*Self-determined*
	Amotivation	Extrinsic motivation				Intrinsic motivation
Regulatory style:	Non-regulation	External regulation	Introjected regulation	Identified regulation	Integrated regulation	Intrinsic regulation
Source of motivation	Impersonal	External	Somewhat external	Somewhat internal	Internal	Internal

Source Taken from Ryan & Deci (2000)

On one side of the continuum 'intrinsic motivation' is placed. 'Intrinsic motivation' is steered from an inherent drive and personal interest in and the pleasure of the activity itself, is inherently autonomously motivated. The total opposite of intrinsic motivation is 'amotivation' or the total lack of motivation. In this case the person will most probably not engage in the activity. In between these extremities, several types of extrinsic motivation can be distinguished, which are more or less determined by external control or internal drive. With 'external regulated motivation' the motivation for the activity is purely external: the person pursues the behaviour only because of an external reward, demand (even coercion) or punishment. In the case of 'introjected regulation' the motivation is somewhat external, but these external reasons for the activity are internalized. Here the activity is done because the person knows he is ought to do it or feels guilty or ashamed not doing it. The behaviour is driven by 'identified regulation' when the person accepts the underlying importance or value of the behaviour or activity. The (external) reasons for the behaviour are more internalized than with introjected regulation and the behaviour is more relevant in the light of personal goals or values. We speak of 'integrated regulation' when the person not only recognizes the importance of the behaviour but also linked it with it with his identity and self-worth (Deci & Ryan, 2000; Gagné & Deci, 2005; Ryan & Deci, 2000). The distinctions between types of extrinsic motivation are determined by small nuances in the extent to which the extrinsic motives for the behaviour are more or less internalized by the person and the extent to which the person links the behaviour to his own identity and values. This can also change over time, for example a child who initially brushed his teeth because his mother forced him to, but when older does it because he finds it important to be neat.

The behaviour of people is driven by the motivation they have for it and will determine how people experience the activity, the amount of effort they invest in the activity and the choices they make between possible behaviours. A specific activity can be driven by different (types of) motivations, with a different importance and impact on the behaviour. For example one can choose for a job because they find it interesting (intrinsic motivation) and because the wage is good (external regulation). The importance of the different motivations for a job will then influence the choices a person makes when several possibilities are offered. Given the choice between an interesting, moderately paid job and a less interesting but highly paid job, a person which is more intrinsically motivated will probably prefer the interesting and moderately paid job, while a person which is mainly motivated by the extrinsic aspect of the wage will prefer the less interesting but highly paid job.

Focusing on Flemish non-profit workers the study of De Cooman and colleagues looks at motivation-related concepts (De Cooman, De Gieter, Pepermans, & Jegers, 2011). They found that non-profit workers in Flanders – in comparison with for-profit workers – are more concerned with altruism and experience a better person-organisation fit, but are less concerned with career advancement. Looking at different types of motivation – as depicted in the self-determination theory - they find no difference in the degree of intrinsic motivation (and introjected regulation) between non-profit and for-profit workers. But CSO professionals do have more integrated and identified regulation and less external regulation for their job. Further research on the self-determination theory and intrinsic and extrinsic motivation has not really focused on employees of civil society organisations. However research on SDT in the work context gives some general findings regarding antecedents and consequences of need fulfilment and motivation of employees.

Some job characteristics are identified to promote intrinsic motivation, while others appear to be detrimental for the intrinsic motivation of employees (Van den Broeck et al., 2016). Ryan & Deci (2000) found a positive relation between autonomy, task variety and greater influence on the job and intrinsic motivation. Leete (2000) studied wage equity in non-profit organisations and observed that intrinsic motivation was enhanced when more importance was given to wage equity within the organisation. De Cooman and colleagues (De Cooman, Stynen, Van den Broeck, Sels, & De Witte, 2013) investigated the relation between job design and autonomous motivation. They found that job resources, such as skill

utilisation and strategic impact, fostered the fulfilment of the three basic psychological needs and that job demands, such as work-home interference and work pressures, thwarted the fulfilment of these needs. Further they found evidence for a positive relation between need satisfaction and autonomous motivations and higher levels of work effort. Another study revealed that job control moderates the negative (i.e. unhealthy) effects of job demands in predicting burnout dimensions (emotional exhaustion and depersonalization), but only for employees with high levels of (work) self-determination (Fernet, Guay, & Senécal, 2004). In a review of research on the self-determination theory in the work context, Van den Broeck and colleagues found that job and work characteristics such as work-life conflict, work pressures, task complexity, task identity, autonomy, role ambiguity and conflict, social support, feedback, ... were important antecedents of need fulfilment, as well as organisational aspects such as equity, support of the organisation and fit with the organisation (Van den Broeck, 2016; Van den Broeck et al., 2016).

The motivation of the employee not only influences the direct behaviour of the employee but also has an impact on the attitudes (such as job satisfaction, commitment, turn over intentions, ...), behaviour (for example absenteeism, asocial behaviours, performance, creativity, ...) and well-being (e.g. engagement or emotional exhaustion, physical and mental health, psychological well-being, life satisfaction, ...) of the employee (Van den Broeck et al., 2016). Vansteenkiste and colleagues (2007) found that extrinsic motivation can be linked to less positive outcomes for the employees - such as lower job satisfaction, less dedication and less vitality on the job compared to employees with more intrinsic motivation. Further they also find more negative outcomes –such as emotional exhaustion and turn over intentions – and even an impact on the health for employees with extrinsic motivation compared to those with intrinsic motivation. In a study on the relations between the work climate – that promotes the satisfaction of the three basic psychological needs – the motivations and work outcomes, Gagné and Deci (2005) find support for the positive impact of intrinsic motivations on work outcomes. They show how the work climate fosters internalization of extrinsic motivations (moving them more towards the 'intrinsic' side of the continuum) and development of intrinsic motivation. Further they find a positive relation between these more internalized and intrinsic motivations and work outcomes such as employee performance, job satisfaction, organisational citizenship behaviours, positive work-related attitudes and psychological well-being. Again this research supports our findings regarding the role of intrinsic motivations in the explanation why CSO professionals choose to work in CSOs despite certain less favourable job characteristics.

2.5 Conclusion

The overview of classifications of tasks, responsibilities and competences of CSO professionals puts social work forward as the core of CSO jobs. CSO professional discern themselves from volunteers by the fact that they engage in activities with a social goal as a paid occupation (while volunteers do this without financial reward).

The Flemish civil society sector and social profit sector covers a considerable part of the Flemish economy. In 2014 the total social profit sector or third sector comprises 8.38% of all employers and 14.31% of the employees. Further this sector is clearly growing in recent years and this growth is much larger than the growth of the Flemish labour market as a whole. Within the social profit sector and civil society, more women are employed. Further CSO professionals are more often older, highly educated, native and white-collar workers, in comparison to the whole workforce.

Literature on job quality of CSO jobs – although mainly UK and US oriented - allows us to identify several characteristics of CSO jobs which may give rise to an unfavourable work situation for CSO professionals. High levels of part time work and temporary contracts, lower wages, high flexibility requirements, and high speed pressure and emotional demands are unfavourable characteristics of these CSO jobs. Next to this the literature discusses some positive job characteristics, such as high levels of autonomy, task variety and challenging, non-routine work and planning autonomy (allowing to find a

fit between work and private life). Using a job types approach further gives a better view of potential risks regarding job quality in civil society organisations. The higher prevalence of an unfavourable job types (especially 'heavily repetitive and flexible work') and the apparent lower prevalence of very favourable 'balanced' job type clearly show that the job quality might be under pressure in civil society organisations.

The study of job quality of CSO jobs gave rise to the question why certain CSO professionals choose to work in a CSO instead of a for-profit sector (where more favourable job characteristics are present). The common element in different theories and approaches – such as the donative labour hypothesis and differential conditions hypothesis, public service orientation, intrinsic work value orientations and the self-determination theory – is the centrality of intrinsic motivations. However we can discern two different approaches across these theories. The first approach considers the rewarding and motivating characteristics of CSOs jobs as main differentiating element with for-profit jobs and explanatory element for differences in job satisfaction and satisfaction with certain job characteristics. The second approach hints to differences between employees of CSOs and for-profit organisations in terms of personal preferences, engagement, motivations, ... as explanation. It remains unclear which approach is closest to the truth, or whether the truth lies in a match between the job and the employee, or a combination of the approaches.

3 | Trends impacting CSO professionals

Civil society organisations today are confronted with various pressures and challenges coming from societal, economic and political trends, which force these organisations to rethink and reshape the way they are working and are organised. Changing relations with citizens and governments put pressures on the roles of CSOs. These changes ask for innovation.

In this context the need for a different or other type of CSO professional – or other and additional professional competences – is frequently pronounced, for example as a need for an 'all-rounder' – a CSO professional with broad competences and skills, which can deal with the increasing complexity of contemporary questions and problems and can provide guidance and direction through the complex field of social services and social work (Movisie, 2015).

In this part of the position paper we will have a closer look to the impact of four trends - marketization and managerialism, individualisation, globalisation and digitalisation – which are influencing the political and service delivery role of CSOs. We have scanned the existing academic literature on how these trends have an impact on the professional work in these organisations and how it influences jobs and working conditions. Of course none of these trends can be considered strictly separate from the others and often the impact is a combined effect of several trends. The division which is made in this section is therefore more instrumental than factual.

3.1 Marketization and New Public Management

The bulk of research focusing on the impact of trends such as New Public management, managerialism and marketization on employees in civil society and non-profit organisations is rather sloppy in the use of these concepts. They are often used as catch-all terms and interchangeable concepts for a broad set of changes, events and trends which can be somehow linked to these concepts. The focus of these studies lies more in the different ways in which a set of societal changes has an impact on the employees. The societal trends which lay at the base of the changes in the organisation and for the employees, are seen more as specific events and trends, without linking them to conceptual frameworks and theories. Consequently it is hard to entangle the influence of these individual concepts when looking at the impact on the employees.

3.1.1 Trends

Since the research to which we will refer is fuzzy in the identification of the exact trends which lay at the base of what they study and observe and a discussion of the differences of these trends is not the scope of this paper, we will not go into too much details[18]. However we will briefly discuss the concepts which are often mentioned in the context of managerialism and marketization.

Neoliberalisation is often used as an umbrella for trends such as increasing governance through the market, outsourcing of public services to non-governmental institutions (such as CSOs but also private organisations) with governments withdrawing from their responsibilities (especially in terms of service provision for disadvantaged groups) and expecting CSOs to fill in these gaps, austerity policies which limit funding of CSOs and the shift from stable funding to project-based funding and grants, etc.

18 For a thorough discussion of concepts related to non-profit organisations becoming more business-like and the impact on the organisations, we refer to Suykens, Verschuere, & De Rynck (2017)

(Cunningham, 2016a; Kong, 2008; Oosterlynck, Hertogen, Swerts, & Debruyne, 2017; Pauly, De Rynck, & Verschuere, 2017; Ward, 2011). The concept managerialism can be defined as *"the dominance of management practices and ideas"* (M. Meyer, Buber, & Aghamanoukjan, 2013, p. 173) and is an umbrella concept which covers various aspects, such as corporatization, marketization, professionalization, etc. The term corporatization is use for to trend that non-profit organisations implement corporate governance practices – from the private sector - in their organisation. Marketization is applied for the adoption of market practices for the profit sector in non-profit organisations (Suykens, Verschuere, & De Rynck, 2017).

This marketization of CSOs and the introduction of New Public Management (NPM) has a considerable impact on how work is organized within the organisations. Where before CSOs were the main providers of public services, today new players are entering this market, such as multinational companies, cooperatives, social entrepreneurs, etc. increasing the competition for funding and clients and forcing CSOs to adapt their practices and become more 'competitive' (which in practice means doing more work with less money, often with detrimental effects of the quality of services). In addition neoliberalisation changed the way citizens use services and the way they stand towards CSOs. The citizen becomes a critical consumer of public services, shopping for the services that fit best its current needs at the best 'prices', while before these choses were driven also by other elements (such as membership of institutions, traditions, etc.). Linked to the trend of marketization and neoliberalisation some researchers report how the state is withdrawing from service delivery activities and outsourcing these activities to other types of organisations, such as local governments, commercial organisations and non-profit organisations (Jessop, 2002, 2003; Rhodes, 1994). This outsourcing of social services might have an impact on the identity and practices of these organisation now taking on these activities (Cunningham, 2016a), and is also linked with an increase of administration and accountability procedures and bureaucratisation of activities and practices.

3.1.2 Impact

a) Impact on role of CSO professionals and of social work

Harlow (2003) discusses how the trend of managerialism impacts social work practice – both the services provision role as the political role - and poses a new approach to CSO professional work has risen and should be added to the typology of among others Payne (2005). Payne (1997, 2005) discerned three roles of social work: the 'therapeutic role', the 'transformational role' and the 'social order role'. In the 'therapeutic role' interaction with the client is important and the focus is on facilitating the client to gain control and power of his or her life and feelings. In the 'transformational role' the emphasis is given to mutual co-operation and learning and the empowerment of disadvantaged and oppressed people. The 'social order role' aims to provide services to meet individual needs at a point in time and to help people to regain stability in their situation, without attempts to change the situation To these three roles a fourth role, a 'managerial-technicist perspective' to social work, should be added. This perspective defines the social worker more as a manager and coordinator of services and activities.

Within the social services role the CSO professional is seen as a coordinator of care services (and less as a provider of care themselves). The care services can be performed by other professionals and employees, in some cases from for-profit organisations. This brings along certain managerial responsibilities for the CSO professional, such as working within specified budgets and also asks for other kinds of professional skills and competences to deal with these 'new' responsibilities. With managerialism the organisational context becomes more standardised and more strictly organised, with more directive, performance management, use of (control and management) technologies ... The relationship with clients also changes and becomes more impersonal. Clients are seen as consumers who choose across an offer of services (searching for the best services at the lowest cost). These service relationship also become more formalised through written contracts and official partnerships (Harlow, 2003).

In their political role the social worker cannot really advocate on behalf of clients. Since social workers are also involved in budgetary decisions and responsibilities, it has become more difficult to advocate for groups of service users. Thus these clients have to advocate for themselves. Social works mainly strive to reduce risks and solve problems at individual level and maintain good situations for individuals rather than attempting to create change for disadvantaged groups within society (Harlow, 2003).

Further the rise of managerialism in social work has brought about changes in the knowledge which social workers need to perform their work. Instead of social and psychological knowledge the emphasis as shifted toward knowledge of law, procedures and policies (Harlow, 2003).

Ward (2011) describes how the professionalism of professionals in public service organizations was impacted by the introduction of New Public Management. In their traditional role – before NPM – professionals were perceived according to a 'bureaucratic professionalism' perspective: *"Professionals were seen as capable of directing their own performance and oversight. Indeed, autonomy was viewed as necessary for creating the integrity of professional work and the motivation and creativity of professional workers"* (Ward, 2011, pp. 209–210). The introduction of NPM practices poses threats to this traditional role. The autonomy of professionals is strongly limited through procedures, standardization, objective performance measures, etc. Further the supervision increases with the installation of management chains, hierarchical organisation, external accountability systems, etc. Thus "*this changes trust in the profession's ability to do the right thing' replaced by assessment at a distance, an autonomy replaced by management from above or even from within.*" (Ward, 2011, p. 210).

b) Impact on intrinsic motivations

In the light of the trend of marketization a question which is often posed is "whether non-profit organisations should become more business-like?" (Benz, 2005; Kong, 2008; Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006; Weisbrod 1997, 1998 in Benz, 2005). This might threaten the identity of non-profit organisations (Cunningham, 2016a; Mirvis & Hackett, 1983; Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006), undermining the mission and values of these organisations (Eikenberry & Kluver, 2004) – which are central to these organisations. As discussed earlier CSO professionals are motivated by other – more intrinsic – elements of their job and might value other job characteristics than employees in for-profit firm (cfr. supra). By becoming more business-like exactly these motivational elements and central job characteristics might change and disappear (Benz, 2005). For example installing a performance based pay system in a non-profit organisation might harm the intrinsic motivation of the employees (cfr. Self-determination theory above) (Gagné & Deci, 2005; Van den Broeck et al., 2016).

In reflections regarding managerialism and NPM, Ward (2011) postulates that the introduction of New Public Management has put threats to the intrinsic motivation of CSO professionals. Bernstein (2000) describes 'inner dedication' as the moral commitment to the job and the ethical responsibility and calling. High levels of autonomy and limited supervision and oversight are important and even necessary conditions to allow for this inner dedication. However, with NPM the autonomy of CSO professionals is mitigated and more and more supervision mechanisms are installed (Ward, 2011).

On the other hand a study on appropriate leadership styles in non-profit organisations of Schmid (2006) shows the importance of adapting leadership styles depending on the stage of the organizational life and the changing situation of the organisation. Leaders *"should know when to adopt a task-oriented style versus a people-oriented style and when to adopt an internal versus external orientation"* (Schmid, 2006, p. 179). Accordingly NPM practices might also be appropriate in non-profit organisations if this matches with the ongoing changes and the current organisational life stage. This might imply that *"values and passions may find appropriate expression in bureaucracies too"* (Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006, p. 140), where 'bureaucracies' refers to more business-like ways of organising a non-profit organisation.

Thus the main issue remains whether and how – under which conditions – civil society organisations can implement (certain) business-like practices while sticking to their mission and values and avoid losing their identity and uniqueness and become plain bureaucratic organisations

(Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006). For the involved professional staff in these organisations, this is translated in the questions how there intrinsic motivation can be safeguarded, enhanced or created, or whether the diminution of intrinsic motivation can be compensated by other factors in the work context (e.g. other job characteristics or contextual factors)?

c) Negative impact on the job quality?

Findings from (mainly UK) studies which focus on the impact of the implementation of business-like practices in non-profit organisations on the working conditions and job characteristics of the CSO professionals mainly spin out a story of negative effects on the CSO professionals. Mirvis and Hackett (1983) discuss how the import of business-like practices – such as performance appraisal systems, incentive systems or motivational systems – as a whole and without adaptations can be linked to a centralisation of authority and tighter controls (and thus declining autonomy), a decrease of flexibility and increasing pressures to perform and achieved targets, etc. Further the implementation of business-like practices is linked to an increasing bureaucratisation of the organisation and standardisation of tasks and processes, with decreasing discretion and room for professional choices for the employee (Baines, 2004, 2010; Cunningham, 2016a).

Other researchers focused more on the working conditions in CSOs which experienced large cuts in their funding. At the organisational level this introduced uncertainty and the inability to plan on longer term. These organisations turn towards alternative sources of funding and revenue, to ensure higher diversity in their funding and be less dependent on government funding. For the CSO professionals in these organisations these savings have considerable implications. They report a strong increase of the work load, both an increase of the amount of things which have to be done as well as a wider range of tasks to be done. Good permanent and full-time contracts are being replaced by more precarious contracts which are temporary, part-time or zero-hours. Next to that a rise of (unpaid) overtime and even the obligation to volunteer in the organisation in the private time are found. Wages of these CSO professionals no longer increase with inflation and in many cases these CSO professionals even have to accept considerable cuts in their wage and benefits. CSO professionals are asked for more flexibility to work on different locations and on asocial hours. Savings are made by cutting the time and possibilities for training (Cunningham et al., 2016; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003).

The unique and high intrinsic motivation – nearly dedication - of many CSO professionals might lead them to simply take on additional workloads, work overtime, show increased flexibility (e.g. to work on more asocial hours), accept deterioration of employment conditions (e.g. temporary or zero-hour contracts) as well as pay cuts, but at the expense of their physical and mental health (e.g. burn-out), job security and satisfaction (Mirvis & Hackett, 1983). The impact of business-like practices on the working conditions and CSO professionals also depends on which practices are implemented and how they are implemented (Cunningham, 2016a). It should be possible to match the unique characteristics of CSOs and their professionals with business-like practices (Rothschild & Milofsky, 2006).

In line with this discussion of job characteristics and job quality, we should also take notice of Ward's (2011) comment that the rise of managerialism (and especially NPM) also impacted the possibilities and ability for collective action of these CSO professionals regarding their working and employment conditions. *"NPM advocated a 'decollectivization' that promoted an individualistic form of labour relations and pay"* (Ward, 2011, p. 211). More individualistic forms of incentives, rewards and recognition – for example performance-based incentives or 'employee of the month' awards – might create inequity between employees and a more competitive environment in which employees are more prone to strive for a change of individual employment conditions rather than to engage in collective actions.

d) New professionalization and skills issue

(New) professionalization in civil society organisations should be understood mainly as the incorporation of organisational professionals (i.e. with administrative expertise) in the organisation (Hwang & Powell, 2009). This professionalization goes hand in glove with among others trends like NPM and the marketization of the non-profit sector. Funding has become more project-based and accountability requirements and performance management are increasing, which creates the need for staff with other – more administrative and project management related skills, such as project development, project evaluation, sales, marketing, accounting, administration, etc. (Casteleyn, 2016; McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003).

In addition to this need for people with other types of skills and profiles in non-profit organisations, the current CSO professionals are also confronted with changing skill needs. Next to specialist skills which they use within the execution of their tasks, they more and more need also more generalist competences to deal with all the administrative requirements and performance monitoring tasks as well as the broadening of their tasks (Casteleyn, 2016; Sociaal Werk in de Wijk, nd; Spierts, 2014). Harlow (2003) underlines how the increasing marketization and managerialism requires much more knowledge of legislation from social workers, as well as skills to deal with their more managerial tasks, project requirements, etc.

3.2 Individualisation

3.2.1 Trend

The growing individualisation of the society is linked to a decline of collective ties and beliefs (~ de-institutionalisation & de-traditionalisation). Self-determination, personal choice, self-identity (instead of group identity), self-actualisation ... become increasingly more important. Each individual is expected to work on his or her own life project and make his own choices and take responsibility for this (Oosterlynck et al., 2017).

Individualisation also impacts the engagement of citizens: engagement changes and becomes more linked to themes of everyday life and self-realisation. There is a radical change in the nature of volunteering and civil engagement toward new, individualistic, program-based, self-organised, reflexive forms of engagement, which are generally more volatile, short term, impulsive and non-committal than before (Giddens, 1991; Hustinx, 2003; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003).

3.2.2 Impact on political role – communication skills

The impact of individualisation on CSO political actions can be seen through a personalisation of the issues of action, using individual experiences and narratives as a main element in the mobilisation process of people (Giddens, 1991). This forces organisations to strike a balance between a strong and effective focus on the main mission and providing space and flexibility for individual narratives to increase the chances to mobilise people for the mission of the organisation (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011). In a study of two protest networks (targeting the G20 London summit in 2009), Bennett and Segerberg investigated the impact of the different communication strategies (one rather flexible and with more room for personalisation, the other more rigidly framed) of these two networks on their mobilisation capacity. They found that the protest network which used more and different personalised communication and engagement mechanisms (e.g. twitter hashtag, you tube, blog, post of videos, petition to sign, ...) had a higher engagement strength, which could be noted from more participation in the protest march, a more diverse group of people and messages during the march and higher coverage in mainstream media, as well as stronger engagement in the longer run, after the protest march. Further the personalisation of communication and higher flexibility regarding engagement of this protest organisation did not compromise the agenda strength of the network and the network strength and

dominance of this protest network was much stronger. This thus implies CSO professionals need to be able to properly use different communication strategies and send out personalised messages to ensure the mobilisation capacity of their organisation.

3.2.3 Impact on the service delivery role

a) Social workers as a partner in life planning

With individualisation the importance of life politics has increased and 'life planning' has become an important method for citizens to take responsibility for their own lives and be reflexive citizens. Consequently this changes the roles which are allocated to social workers. Where before CSO professionals worked with the structural social relations which were present in an individual's life, today social relationships exist and are sustained from the perspective of the individual life project. Thus social workers need to provide attention to and support individuals in the building of social networks and relationships which will help the individual to develop his or her own life project. Before social workers provided close guidance towards solutions for problems with limited choices for people, today social work is seen as assisting and facilitating people with their life planning and help them to make new choices and regain a sense of mastery over their life (Ferguson, 2001).

In the light of individualisation a shift can be seen from a welfare society towards a participation society (Verhoeven & Jacobs, 2014). Individuals are encouraged to actively participate in society and take responsibility for their own lives. This requires CSO professionals to support individuals in this tasks and empowers them to take responsibility. Empowerment is *"the process of strengthening people, in which individuals, organisations and communities are enabled to take charge of their own situation and environment and this through gaining control, sharpening critical awareness and stimulating participation."* (Van Regenmortel, 2008, p. 22, translated from Dutch).

b) Personalisation of services

The personalisation of care and other social services – a trend which can be linked to individualisation and neoliberalism, becomes apparent through different systems and regulations across countries such as personal budgets (Casteleyn, 2016), cash-for-care systems, direct payment systems (Ellis, 2007), ... These systems changes the care market and allow for more diversification of the service providers (i.e. also for-profit organisations can enter the market) and increases competition across providers (Casteleyn, 2016), all trying to convince as many clients to choice for their organisation and trying to offer services in the cheapest (for the client and organisation) and most effective way.

This personalisation of care implies a transformation from the old model in which care providers have a strong impact in determining the kind and amount of support individuals receive towards a new model in which the client has a central role in assessing his or her needs and the support or services which are required (Ellis, 2007; Leece & Leece, 2011). This challenges the role of risk assessment and risk management of CSO professionals. Before CSO professionals had considerable discretion to interpret policies and procedures and determine who gains access to public services (also called street-level bureaucracy by Lipsky (1980)). Personalisation of care, for example through the instalment of direct payment systems, this discretion is undermined which creates tensions and uncertainty among CSO professionals (Ellis, 2007).

Further some suggest that CSO professionals can or should take up a role of support brokerage (Leece & Leece, 2011). In this broker role, CSO professionals should focus on identifying people's needs and preference resources and evaluating the potential of these resources, negotiating and contracting with service providers, giving support in the planning and coordination of support arrangements and care organisation (Skills for care, 2009).

As some care tasks are taken up by individual (informal) carers, e.g. family members, neighbours, ... with direct payment systems, which can now be paid for their care activities, social workers more and more have to take a role in supporting these carers in their tasks (Ellis, 2007) as well as providing support

to clients to organised and coordinate their different care services. This also points towards a growing importance of the **'managerial-technicist role'** of social workers (Harlow, 2003). This stronger relevance of this role becomes clear through for example the arising of interest groups of informal carers (were social workers can play a 'new' role).

c) Need for a new type of CSO professional

Kluft (2012) formulates the need for a new type of CSO professional linked to the changes in social policy – in which the citizen is put more central and seen as a co-producer. This new CSO professional should be a **generalist** (Scholte, 2010) which is present and actively seeks contact with citizen. This new CSO professional should help vulnerable citizens to take responsibility to solve his problems himself. MOVISIE – Netherlands centre for social development[19] - identified and describes seven characteristics of this new CSO professional: questioning, active, engaged, entrepreneurial, autonomous, effective and reflective. This change does not require a radical shift in activities and knowledge of the CSO professional, but a shift in the attitudes and vision. Instead of taking over responsibility of vulnerable citizens, the CSO professional should now focus on supporting the citizen to stay in control of and take responsibility for his own problems (Kluft, 2012; Sociaal Werk in de Wijk, nd).

d) Risk of degradation of job quality

The personalisation of services brings about **increasing competition** among service providers, which in combination with marketization no longer are all non-profit organisations. To meet performance measures and to ensure future funding, service providers all have to fight to gain a considerable share of the market. They have to convince clients – which choose among service providers as consumers, looking for the place where they get most for their money – to engage their organisation. This forces organisations to **provide more for less money**, becoming more efficient. According to the limited and UK-based literature this often leads to increasing workload and less time for each client. CSO professionals have to fulfil standardised tasks at high speed, without room for discretion and changes depending on the specific needs of the client at that moment (Cunningham, 2016b; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). Naturally, these conditions often given rise to frustrations among CSO professionals, experiencing they are no longer able to do their work as before. They have the feeling that the new context does not allow them to do what they think they should be doing to properly help people and give quality care (Rubery, Grimshaw, Hebson, & Ugarte, 2015). Linked with other effects of the implementation of NPM and marketization of public services this personalisation might lead to an ongoing degradation of the employment conditions of service providers (Cunningham, 2016b; Hood, 1991; Rubery & Urwin, 2011). However the exclusive availability of Anglo-Saxon studies regarding personalisation makes it difficult to extrapolate these finding to other contexts such as the Flemish civil society sector.

3.2.4 Changing role of the volunteer?

Next to these changes in the role, tasks, required skills, ... of the employee, there also seems to be a **change in the type of volunteer** which engages in CSOs due to this individualisation process. Today the volunteer is more often highly educated and in some cases has very specialised (professional) knowledge in domains which are also relevant within CSOs, or have become more relevant for CSOs as well (such as ICT professionals). Further the **motivation** of volunteers seems to have changed over time. While before volunteers were mainly motivated by the opportunity to help other people, today also the possibility for self-development and self-realisation has become more and more important (Hustinx, 2003; Hustinx & Lammertyn, 2003; Hustinx, Marée, De Keyser, Verhaeghe, & Xhauflair, 2015). Next to that volunteers more and more prefer to **engage in a well-defined and temporary activity or project**, rather than a long term engagement in an organisation (Alfes, Antunes, & Shantz, 2017; Snyder & Omoto, 2008). According to these authors the combination of all these elements creates more space for

19 MOVISIE, kennis en aanpak van sociale vraagstukken. www.movisie.nl

cooperation between CSO professionals and volunteers - allowing the 'outsourcing' of certain tasks to volunteers.

3.3 Globalisation and cultural diversity

3.3.1 Trend

Globalisation can be defined in many ways and can have many meanings. From a narrow viewpoint, globalisation can be simply seen as the *"economic integration of countries into one economic system"* (Dominelli, 2010, p. 601). A broader perspective sees globalisation as the impact of global relations on all different aspects of society and (everyday) life, at economic, cultural, political and social level. From another perspective Macionis and Plummer define globalisation as *"the increasing connectedness of societies"* (Macionis & Plummer, 2008, p. 42). With globalisation the borders across countries become more permeable: people have opportunities to travel the world, access real-time information and be directly in contact with people from across the world through the internet. A global culture is being created and the global society is become aware of common problems, such as environmental issues (West & Heath, 2011). Other features of globalisation are the cultural diffusion and migration, the creation of new forms of social exclusion due to rapid technological change, a primacy of market mechanisms in all domains of life, etc. (Dominelli, 2010).

With globalisation the society also becomes more and more **diverse**, worldwide but also in Belgium and Flanders, to the extent that literature speaks of 'superdiversity' (Geldof, 2013; Van Robaeys, van Ewijk, & Dierckx, 2016). This growing diversity is even more clear-cut and rising even faster. Civil society organisations are confronted with a more extensive diversity of clients, especially in the cities (Geldof, 2013).

3.3.2 Impact

Only a few authors discuss the impact of globalisation, internationalisation and/or the growing cultural and ethnic diversity of the CSO membership or target groups on the professional work in CSOs (Dominelli, 2010). Besides the change in topical issues, no strong scientific debates are held in international literature about the effect on job contents and skills requirements. A few authors make references to the need for a higher degree of **cultural competence** (Boyle & Springer, 2001; Lu, Lum, & Chen, 2001; Lyons, 2006) which can be defined as *"the ability to adapt professional tasks and work styles to the cultural values and preferences of the clients"* (Boyle & Springer, 2001, p. 55). This need for new skills and competences also brings about questions on how to educate future social workers for this changing reality and train and support the current CSO professionals to deal with these new and more pressing challenges (Lyons, 2006).

Within the Flemish context academic and field-specific literature attention for different approaches to deal with diversity within social work, such as 'kruispuntdenken' (Tirions, 2011) and 'divers-sensitief werken' (Van Robaeys et al., 2016) is on the rise. However, despite some best practices (VIVO, 2007), most CSOs seem to be struggling with the question h**ow to train their employees** with the necessary cultural competences and support them to do their work at their best within an increasingly diverse context (De Looze & Geerts, 2016; Van Crombrugge, 2016; Van Robaeys, 2016).

In contrast to the booming diversity of the clients, members and users of CSOs, the **workforce of these organisations is not very diverse at all**. Thus these organisations are confronted with the challenges to enhance the diversity of their workforce and enable the inflow of employees with more diverse background and from the target groups within their workforce (De Looze & Geerts, 2016; Vermeersch & De Pauw, 2015).

3.4 Digitalisation

3.4.1 Trend

ICT and digitalisation are important themes in the context of globalisation and are seen as one of the major drivers of globalisation (Dominelli, 2010; West & Heath, 2011). ICTs has had a strong impact on people's lives. The pace of actions has increased, while ties to specific locations – for relationships, but also for access to goods and services - have decreased (West & Heath, 2011). The literature until today remains inconclusive regarding the impact of internet on society. Wellman, Quan-Haase, Boase and Chen (2002) present three main viewpoints regarding the impact of internet on social capital. The first viewpoint is that internet diminishes social capital due to a loosening of relations with friend and family. Relations no longer need to be built within the local community, with people who are – in real life – close by. Distance is no issue. From a second viewpoint internet supplements social capital. Internet provides new and additional ways for maintaining relationships. The last viewpoint sees internet as transforming social capital, by inducing important changes in social contact and relation among groups and people. However the social context is changing and this brings about new challenges for social work (West & Heath, 2011).

The introduction of new public management practices in CSOs also brought about the introduction of ICT tools, which can be used for various aspects of the social work job. Tools for administration of clients and provided services, case reports, databases etc. are used for improving the work flow (making it more efficient and cheaper) as well as for reporting means (Burton & van den Broek, 2009). Funders might even force CSOs to use their ICT tools in reporting about their activities and performance measures.

Digitalisation and especially digital media are found to be important communication channels in today's mobilization of social action. It allows to communicate with people through personalised media and send out personalised communication to different target groups, thus enhancing the mobilisation potential of organisations (Bennett & Segerberg, 2011). If used appropriately, ICTs thus can be an important tool for social workers.

3.4.2 Sceptical attitudes towards ICT tools

Nonetheless ICTs has not yet really found its way into social work practice. Studies on the use of ICTs in social work practice in Australia has shown that it is only little used (Marziali, 2005; West & Heath, 2011; Deborah West, 2003). However, ICTs may provide certain opportunities for social work, in new ways of communicating, possibilities to reach disadvantaged people in remote areas were (local) services are scarce, ... If used, ICTs is mainly found in managerial applications, which have found a way into social work, such as the use of databases, electronic assessment tools, ... (West & Heath, 2011). There were already some applications of internet in relation to social actions and online communities regarding a specific theme. These initiatives were however often initiated, organised and supported by volunteers instead of CSO professionals (DCITA, 2004, 2005; West & Heath, 2011). Thus the use of ICTs and internet in the daily work practices of CSO professionals seems to remain limited.

One reason which is suggested for the lack of use of ICT in social practice is the fact that certain groups of disadvantaged people have no access to or the means for these types of technology (Irizarry, Downing, & West, 2002; Deborah West, 2003). Thus these groups cannot be reached through these tools and resources should not be invested in improvements in this sense. Another reason concerns the CSO professionals, of which many are educated and trained in times when ICT and digitalisation was not yet on the forefront and not at all implemented into social work theories (West & Heath, 2011).

Although some advantages of ICT tools can be mentioned, CSO professionals often are sceptic about the use of these tools. Databases with client information might be useful for information sharing across service providers and for fulfilling accountability requirements towards funders, but CSO professionals

also see several confidentiality issues: who will have access to the information, who can use it and how will it be used, how safe is this information on the servers, should this very personal information of people be saved more securely, ... (Burton & van den Broek, 2009).

The managerial support and context in which ICT tools are implement has been found to be important for the acceptance of the tools and attitudes towards it. Involvement and consultation of social practitioners in the development and design and implementation, as well as ongoing training on the use of the tools are crucial for the success ICT tools (Burton & van den Broek, 2009).

3.4.3 Slow establishment of online and social media in the Flemish civil society practices

Within the Flemish and Belgian civil society online and social media are steadily taking a place in daily practices. A study of the KBS on the use of online media in civil society organisations in Belgium (KBS, 2014) concludes that the mainstream online media are used by the majority of the CSOs: 99.4% of the organisations reported they use email and about 90% has an own website. Tools such as social network sites, texts and intranet are used by about half of the organisations. Other – less widespread - tools (such as wiki, podcasting, blogs, RSS, ...) are used by 10%-35% of the organisations.

Within the Flemish social profit sector social media are seen as a tool which can be facilitate the contact with clients, depending on the target group. These 'new' communication channels can help to communicate better and faster when these are relevant channels for the intended group. On the other hand CSO professionals do pronounce that this brings about questions regarding policies, guidelines and rules on the use of these social media (Departement Werk en Sociale Economie, 2012). In response to this growing need, some overarching sector organisations, such as VIVO, invest in trainings on the use of social media (Vivo, 2017).

3.4.4 Impact on job quality

CSO professionals rather often experience ICT tools as an additional burden, adding work stress and leading to work intensification, especially with respect to ICT tools for administration and follow up. Requirements to fill in case reports, to register and complete files with data on clients, ... ask considerable amounts of time and is experienced as taking away time from what they see as their key professional roles, such as direct contact with clients, the relational and caring aspects of their work, ... ICT tools are often experienced as taking away their control and autonomy (Burton & van den Broek, 2009; Parton, 2006).

Digitalisation of social work (again mainly with regard to the administrative tools) is often associated with the fragmentation and routinization and even mechanisation of many tasks CSO professionals do. By splitting up these tasks into parts they become much easier, even to the extent that many tasks may now be undertaken without the need of a professional backgrounds. Next to that, this fragmentation of tasks gives CSO professionals no possibilities to build expertise and to contextualise their actions and behaviours, think critically and implement creative solution. Thus digitalisation can be linked to a risk of deskilling and deprofessionalization of social work and a devaluation of the profession of social workers (Burton & van den Broek, 2009; Jones, 2001; McDonald & Jones, 2000).

In addition negative experiences are strengthened by a lack of the necessary skills and in-depth understanding of the tools to be able to efficiently work with them. Insufficient training can be blamed to a lack of time and money (Burton & van den Broek, 2009).

The growing importance of digital media and communication through social media for social mobilisation and action implies CSO professionals need to have the necessary knowledge and skills to properly use these new media and develop a digital communication and mobilisation strategy. Social work needs to look for ways to incorporate ICT in their practice and exploit its potential to reach out to new groups and connect to existing groups in new ways. In addition attention is needed to ensure these CSO professionals can translate their knowledge and skills to this new modality (West & Heath, 2011).

3.5 Conclusion

In trying to investigate the impact of societal trends such as marketization, NPM, austerity, individualisation and personalisation, globalisation and digitalisation on CSO professionals and CSO jobs, we are confronted with the **lack of academic research** on these issues. The limited set of studies are mainly Anglo-Saxon and focus on the third sector – i.e. a different definition of civil society than the one we adopt in this paper[20] – and the service delivery role of CSOs. Studies on the impact of these changes on the political role of CSOs is very scarce.

International literature points towards marketization, New Public Management, austerity and personalisation of services as main trends pressuring CSOs to change the **way they work and organise their work and employees.** This literature is very critical and negative and strongly focuses on the detrimental effects these trends – linked with savings, changes in funding, increase control mechanisms – have on the job quality and job characteristics of CSO jobs, the motivation of CSO professionals. In terms of work organisation CSO professionals often report a decline of autonomy and increase of supervision and control (both direct by supervisors and clients as more indirect through reporting systems, etc.). Further the increased use of temporary contracts and higher flexibility requirements put pressures on the employment conditions.

The intrinsic motivations of many CSO professionals might be threatened by these changing job characteristics (especially lower autonomy and higher control). Further these societal trends (e.g. marketization and NPM) bring about changes in the organisational as a whole, such as modifications of the mission and values, which might also be translated in the motivation of the employees of the organisation.

The changing society and linked challenges also appear to ask for **new tasks and roles** of professionals in CSOs. Regarding the service delivery role, literature points towards a shift from actual service provision towards a more coordinating tasks of different services. Linked with this empowerment of clients has also become a more prominent task, facilitating and supporting clients to construct their own, personal packages of services. Next to that the more project-based nature of funding and changing administrative requirements also bring new, more managerial tasks with them such as project development, management and reporting tasks. Regarding the political role literature suggests that professionals in CSO are more than before also involved in the development, design and implementation of policies as an important partner. Consequently, the advocacy role is under pressure.

Across the discussion of the impact of societal trends, several **new skills and competences** are discussed which become more and more important and for which the CSO professionals feel a clear and pressing need. Managerial and administrative skills, project management skills and better knowledge of regulations and funding procedures become more important in the context of marketization and NPM. Also CSO professionals and the civil society as a whole point towards a need for skills to deal with the growing (super)diversity. Digitalisation and increasing importance of ICT tools and media asks for specific digital and communication skills. Summing up, and above voices are raised that professionals in CSOs need to become generalists, which are able to turn their hands to anything.

On the other hand signs arise of a **deprofessionalization** of social work. The standardization, formalization and fragmentation of tasks and activities (in the light of digitalization, efficiency and effectiveness, ...) leads to a simplification of many tasks which before required the specific expertise of a CSO professional. These tasks can more and more be outsourced to non-professionals (even within the private sector) or volunteers. The CSO professionals are only needed for specific specialized subtasks or as coordination of the different activities and services. Also the changing nature of work within CSOs

20 See typology note of the CSI Flanders project (forthcoming) on www.middenveldinnovatie.be

asks for other types of professionals to be included into the civil society workforce, such as managerial professionals, ICT specialists, ...

4 | Innovations in HRM as managerial strategy?

We have seen how civil society organisations are confronted with several societal trends - such as marketization, individualisation, globalisation, intensified competition, growing customer demands, increased accountability and performance management, professionalization, etc. - which puts demands on CSOs to adapt their internal procedures and organisation. These external pressures and challenges force CSOs to also think about how they manage their employees. The changing environment and linked personnel challenges ask for a good management of these CSO professionals through a matching and strategic human resource management approach. Within the private sector human resource management steadily gained importance since the 1970s. Today many approaches and theories on HRM for the private sector exist. We will briefly outline the evolution of HRM and discuss one contemporary HRM approach which is put forward as 'the' approach to strategically align HRM with the organisation and improve the performance of the employees and organisation, namely High Performance Work Systems (HPWS).

Since CSOs are labour-intensive organisations in which the human capital is one of the main assets and the key product in the service delivery and political role, investing in a fitting HRM strategy can play an important and even crucial role in the survival and success of a CSO. The unique characteristics of professionals in CSOs – whose behaviours and choices are much more steered by intrinsic motivations (compared to employees in for-profit organisations) - and the centrality of values and mission in the formation, development and day to day activities of the organisation, might however require a different approach towards human resources management and HRM practices. Therefore we will shortly discuss why it is important to have a good fit between the HRM strategy and the organisation as a whole. Next we will propose a few recent HRM approaches which might provide useful HR answers for civil society organisations.

4.1 Human resource management in the private sector

4.1.1 The development of HRM in the private sector

Starting from the years after WOII the human factor has received increasing attention in academic research as well as in organisations and it steadily has been gaining ground as a key element in the strategic management of organisations. Before 1970 the focus of HRM was mainly on employment relationships, industrial relations and trade unions. Since 1960 attention has been growing for aspects of job design and well-being of employees. As of 1970 HRM is more and more seen as a tool which can contribute to the strategic goals of the organisation. In this period attention was given to the discussion of human capital, total quality management and HRM became a primary strategic partner for management. In the eighties attention shifted towards ensuring an internal fit (i.e. a fit between different HR practices within the organisation) and external fit (i.e. a fit between HR practices and strategical goals of the organisation) and thus increasing the added value of HRM for an organisation. Since 1990 several HRM models have been formulated, explicating the role of HR practices and how they should relate to other activities of the organisation, such as the Michigan model, the Harvard model, the Warwick business school model and many more. In this line, HPWS came to the discussion (Lievens, 2007).

4.1.2 High performance work systems

High Performance Work Systems – abbreviated HPWS – are a specific form of strategic HRM in which different interrelated HRM policies and practices are designed and bundled together with the aim to create a more productive – high performing – workforce (Huselid, 1995; Lievens, 2007; Oliveira & Silva, 2015). Next to this focus on bundles of practices instead of individual practices, HPWS also discern itself from other strategic HRM approaches because it has a stronger scientific base and has been investigated extensively (Lievens, 2007).

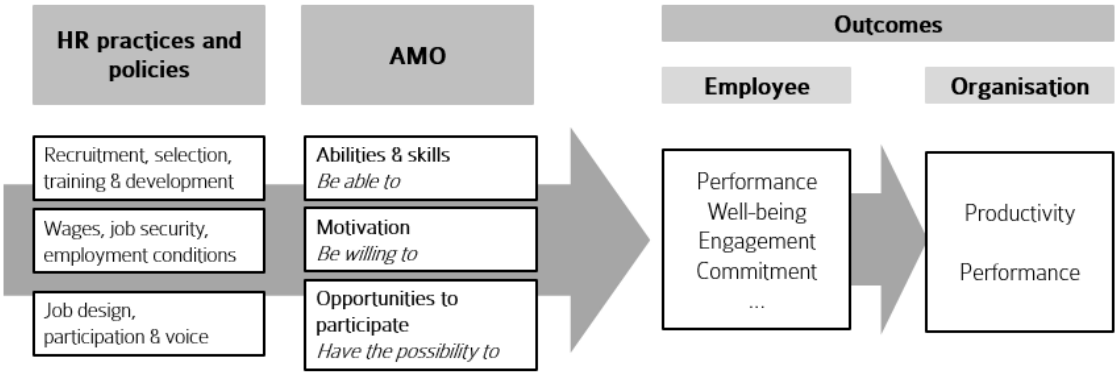
HPWS stems from the Resource-Based View (RBV), which states that employees can be a competitive advantage for an organisation if they are strategically managed and used (Selden & Sowa, 2013). The HRM policies and practices *"focus explicitly on building a highly skilled, engaged, and committed workforce that generates greater productivity for the organization"* (Iverson & Zatzick, 2011, p. 30). The final focus of HPWS is to improve the performance and effectiveness of the organisation through increasing the productivity and performance of the employees. A variety of HRM practices is used regarding the selection and staffing, training and development procedures, performance assessment and appraisal, reward and pay systems and career development opportunities, job design, possibilities for voice and participation, information sharing, employee recognition ... (Lievens, 2007; Selden & Sowa, 2013). All these practices and policies aim to value the performance and capabilities of employees and reward them – in various ways - for this. Boselie, Dietz, and Boon (2005) did a thorough comparison of HRM studies. This comparison allowed them to identify four types of HRM policies and practices which are most frequently studied in HPWS research, namely policies and practices with regard to (1) training and development, (2) remuneration and reward schemes, (3) recruitment and selection, and (4) performance management.

Various positive outcomes are expected for the organisation, such as lower employee turn-over, higher productivity, better financial performance, ... (Lievens, 2007; Selden & Sowa, 2013). Appelbaum, Bailey, Berg, and Kalleberg (2000) presented the AMO-model (ability-motivation-opportunity) as an explanation for the positive relationship between HPWS and organisational performance and productivity. To result in positive organisational outcomes, HRM should include practices and policies that strengthen the individual employee with regard to one of the three aspects of the AMO-model: ability and skills, motivation or opportunities to participate (Figure 4.1).

A first group of HRM practices such as training and selection allow an organisation to invest in the abilities and skills of the employees, and thus to ensure that each employee is able to perform at his or her best and contribute to the organisational performance. Secondly HRM policies and practices, such as pay systems, performance appraisal, recognition and employment conditions strengthen employees' motivation and give them incentives to give their best performance for the organisation. It makes employees willing to perform. A third group of HRM practices focus on creating opportunities for employees to participate within the organisation, through job design (e.g. autonomy, autonomous team work, ...) and possibilities for formal and informal participation. Thus these HRM practices ensure that the employees, which are able to and willing to perform within the organisation also have the possibility to do so (Appelbaum et al., 2000; Paauwe & Boselie, 2005).

A footnote which we can make regarding the AMO-model is the high resemblance it shows with the three basic psychological needs of the self-determination theory (cfr. supra). The need for competence from the SDT can be linked with the importance to invest the abilities and skills of employees. By providing opportunities to participate in the organisation, the need for autonomy can be fulfilled. And HRM practices and policies which invest in the motivation of employees, can strengthen the feelings of relatedness of the employees, depending on the practices which are used.

Figure 4.1 The AMO model



Research on HPWS in the private sector has given extensive **evidence for the positive outcomes** of HPWS for the organisation as well as for the employees (Iverson & Zatzick, 2011; Lievens, 2007; Meyer & Allen, 1991). Much less studies have been conducted regarding the implementation and outcomes of HPWS in the civil society sector however.

Selden and Sowa (2013) conducted an extensive study on the **use and implications of HPWS in CSOs** in eight states across the United States. HPWS practices such as information sharing, focus on hiring the best and focus on competencies in the selection process were practices which were most frequently used by the CSOs, while compensation and reward practices were least used. Further the study looked towards the relationship between HPWS practices and the organisational performance[21] and showed that HRM practices investing in leadership and succession, in compensation and recognition, in information sharing and in employee participation and input were significant predictors of higher organisational performance. For other HRM practices – namely onboarding, hiring the best, focus on competencies in hiring process, training and development, and performance appraisal no significant relation with organisational performance was found. In addition Selden and Sowa found a clear difference between high performing and low(er) performing CSOs in the extent to which they used HPWS practices. In a study on HPWS in a Brazilian non-profit organisation Oliveira and Silva (2015) found a positive and significant effect of HPWS on employee engagement, and that this engagement had a negative and significant effect on the turnover intentions of the employees.

On the other hand critiques are raised that HPWS **has a too strong focus on the strategy** of the organisation and the organisational performance and consequently neglects the employees' outcomes – especially those apart from the monetary reward for the work which is done. Above all within the context of CSOs, where professionals are often more strongly driven by other motivations than the monetary rewards (cfr. infra), this thus might not lead to the hoped organisational outcomes (Rubery & Urwin, 2011) or even lead to unwanted consequences. Although they did not study the practice of performance appraisal from this perspective, we can note that Selden and Sowa (2013) found no significant relationship between performance appraisal practices and organisational performance.

4.2 The risks of a bad fit between HRM and CSO

Looking at HPWS – but also other strategical oriented HR approaches – questions arise about the **appropriateness and fit of these approaches for civil society organisations**. Throughout the academic literature on CSOs, organisational strategies and human resource management, researchers allude to the potential risks of a bad fit between the organisation and the HR strategy which is implemented. Next to a general concern about the ability of CSOs to implement an effective HR strategy due to the lack of both resources and experience in very often small organisations, the centrality of

21 We should also note that 'performance' can have very different meanings in civil society organisations compared to private organisations and not necessarily refers to financial outcomes or outcomes in terms of efficiency and effectiveness.

values and mission and the importance of intrinsic motivations for many professionals in CSOs are the main elements which are pointed out (Cunningham, 1999; Ridder, Piening, & Baluch, 2012).

CSOs mostly originate from a mission and a set of values and are thus **often more value-driven and mission-oriented** than for-profit organisations. Consequently, they should guard the congruence between the strategies – including HRM strategies - they adopt and their values and principles (McMullen & Schellenberg 2003). Kong (2008) stresses that, despite the fact that non-profit organisations experience increasing pressures to implement business-like practices (among which also HRM practices), they should keep an eye on their main objectives, which place investments in people above investments in profits. Thus they should be aware of the potential compromising threats of certain business-like strategies (e.g. adopting HR strategies from the for-profit sector) for their objectives.

Other researchers touch on the **motivation of professionals** to work in CSOs. These CSO professionals are often motivated by the rewarding nature of the work and have different values and perspectives towards work (cfr. supra) (McMullen & Schellenberg, 2003; Word, 2011). The identification with the organisation's mission can be an important factor for employee retention in CSOs (Brown & Yoshioka, 2003). HRM practices which collide with this mission or values or with employees perspectives (e.g. extrinsic and intrinsic rewards) might have a strong impact on the employee and linked employee outcomes (e.g. employee turnover, performance, commitment, ...) (Barbeito & Bowman, 1998).

Next to that some researchers pay attention to the value and importance of the intrinsic motivation of CSO professionals as well as the **fragility** of it. Intrinsic motivations can be easily abated through certain HRM practices – especially certain compensation practices from the for-profit world - but are often costly to re-establish. Thus non-profit organisations should think carefully about the HRM practices and policies they implement and ensure that these policies support the intrinsic motivations (and most certainly not threaten them) (Barbeito & Bowman, 1998; Frey, 2000).

A study of Cunningham (2016a) shows how organisations make changes to their HR policies and practices in answer to societal pressures such as personalisation and austerity, and how these changes in HRM might have detrimental effects on the working conditions of the employees, which are important elements in the prediction of employee and organisational performance, employee well-being, engagement, commitment, and other positive outcomes for the organisation and employee (Akingbola, 2012; Kellner, Townsend, & Wilkinson, 2016; Ridder, Baluch, & Piening, 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010).

4.3 Two HRM approaches with eye for the uniqueness of CSOs

Although less mainstream than HRM approaches such as high performance work systems, we can identify two streams of HRM approaches within the academic literature that might be more appropriate and ensure a better fit with the organisation within the context of CSOs: high-commitment HRM and values-based HRM. They can **meet two main critiques** which are given regarding the application of HPWS in civil society organisations.

The first critique is the too **unilateral focus of HPWS on organisational performances and strong strategic focus**, which might not match with the mission and value orientation of CSOs. These scholars stress the fact that HRM policies and practices in CSOs should take the unique characteristics of these not-for-profit organisations and its employees into account and pay the necessary attention to an alignment with the values and mission of the organisation. It is therefore important that a HR strategy balances strategical goals (for example financial targets, client targets, impact goals, etc.) and values. Another critique concerns the **lack of attention for employee outcomes and motivation in HPWS**, while this motivation is a very prominent and important characteristic of a CSO professional working environment and culture (Akingbola, 2012; Kellner, Townsend, & Wilkinson, 2016; Ridder, Baluch, & Piening, 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010).

4.3.1 High commitment HRM

A first potential answer to the considerations regarding HPWS (and other strongly strategically oriented HR approaches) is high commitment HRM. High commitment HRM is related to high involvement HRM and HPWS and these approaches are sometimes used as synonyms. However high commitment as well as high involvement HRM have a more specific and aligned focus and stronger emphasis on the positive outcomes for the employees than HPWS (Boon & Kalshoven, 2014; Boselie et al., 2005).

Within the diverse set of HR practices that exist we can indeed discern two types of HR practices: control-focused and commitment-focused HR practices. In control-focused HR practices the focus is on cost reduction and improving the efficiency of tasks and operations, through high levels of control of all work steps, well-defined tasks, limited autonomy and voice, etc.. Commitment-focused HR practices on the other hand have the aim to improve the employee commitment and motivation and with that enhance organisational performance through practices such as fair compensation, appraisal, training, job security etc. (Boon & Kalshoven, 2014; Chiang, Han, & Chuang, 2011; Whitener, 2001). The focus of high involvement HRM is on increasing the involvement of employees in organisational decision making and improving the quality and efficiency of this involvement (Boon & Kalshoven, 2014; Boselie et al., 2005). In high commitment HRM the focus is on HR practices which can play a role in strengthening the long term relationship between the employer and employee and the employee's commitment for the organisation (Boon & Kalshoven, 2014; Rubery & Urwin, 2011).

High commitment HRM mainly invests in commitment-focused HR practices, such as high job security, continuous training, strong focus on learning and development, developmental feedback, empowerment, job rotation and variety, team work, involvement in decision making, communication, performance-related or variable pay and extensive benefits packages, (Boon & Kalshoven, 2014; Gould-Williams, 2003; Whitener, 2001). Investing in those HR practices will facilitate the internal development of employees and enhance the employee commitment and consequently lead to favourable organisational outcomes (performance, productiveness, limited employee turnover, etc.) (McClean, 2009) as well as desirable worker attitudes (job satisfaction, motivation, no intention to quit) (Gould-Williams, 2003).

As high commitment HRM "*aims to develop committed employees who can be trusted to use their discretion to carry out job tasks in ways that are consistent with organizational goals*" (Arthur, 1994, p. 672), this HRM approach seems to have potential for the use within CSOs. The focus is more on ensuring that the work organisation and context enhance employee commitment and motivation (and through this positively influence organisational 'performance' and outcomes in a broad sense) than on (often financial) organisational performance targets.

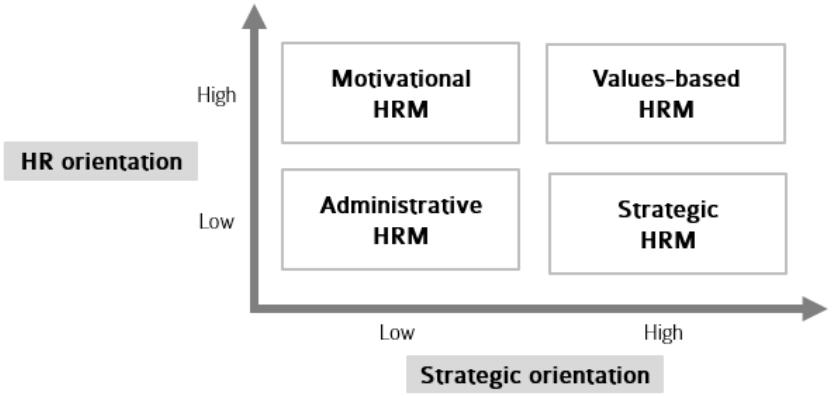
4.3.2 Value-based approaches to HRM

Values-based approaches to HRM might provide an alternative answer to the critiques given on HPWS. In a study on the implementation of HPWS in a hospital, Kellner and colleagues (Kellner et al., 2016) discuss how the HPWS practices are balanced with a strong values orientation, thus tempering the potential conflicts between a strategic implementation of HPWS practices and the centrality of mission and values for employees. They show how the key values of care, compassion, mercy, integrity, commitment, ... are weaved into the HRM practices. For example within the recruitment and introduction activities much attention is devoted to the alignment of employees with organizational values. The learning and development activities are infused with values and the performance and remuneration policies focus on recognizing and emphasizing behaviours which are congruent with the organizational values. We will discuss two HRM frameworks in which explicit attention is given to values and mission of the organisation: the framework of Ridder and colleagues and the 5 HRM models of Akingbola.

a) HRM framework of Ridder and colleagues

Ridder and McCandless (2010) propose a framework to look at HRM strategies in CSOs that takes into account the value and mission issues. They discern two dimensions across which HRM strategies differ. The first dimension is the 'strategic orientation', which gives an indication of the extent to which the HRM strategy is influenced by the goals, mission and values of the organisation. The second dimension, the 'HR orientation' shows how the HRM strategy is shaped by the needs and motivations of the employees. Organisations and their HR strategy can vary across these dimension and the specific combination of the two dimensions (high or low) defines different HRM types. (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010) (Figure 4.2).

Figure 4.2 Analytical framework of HRM in non-profit organisations of Ridder and colleagues



Source Figure taken from Ridder, McCandless Baluch, et al. (2012)

When the HRM strategy scores low on both dimensions, one can speak of 'administrative HRM'. This HRM strategy is quite frequently used in CSOs and often are rather direct imitations of HRM practices in for-profits, sometimes driven by requirements of funders (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010). Research on the effects of an administrative HRM strategy in CSOs shows many negative impacts on employees in terms of dissatisfaction, resistance, ... (Akingbola, 2004; Cunningham, 2001).

When much attention is given to the strategic orientation, and only little to the HR orientation, Ridder and colleagues define this type as 'strategic HRM'. These HR strategies are sometimes implemented in response to contextual demands, funding pressures, austerity, ... with the aim to make the organisation more efficient and effective and improve the productivity and performance of the employees, without having eye for the social goals of these CSOs (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010). Research shows that a one-dimensional strategic HRM strategy encompasses a lot of risks in terms of increased workload and reduced staff, deteriorating commitment and changing work orientations, declining intrinsic motivation, ... (Deckop & Cirka, 2000).

In case of 'motivational HRM' there is a limited focus on the strategic orientation, but a high focus on the HR or workers' orientation in the HR strategy. The characteristics, needs, (nonmonetary, intrinsic) motivation, mission attachment, ... of employees are taken into account in the development and implementation of the HR policies and practices (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010).

A last type of HRM strategies is 'values-driven HRM' (or values-based HRM), in which both the strategic and HR orientation are important. These HRM strategies are driven by the mission, values, and organisational goals of the organisation as well as investing strongly in the unique characteristics and strengths of the employees. Or as stated by the authors: values-driven HRM is "where values, strategic goals and HRM are tightly integrated" (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012). This strategy allows CSOs

to use their unique characteristics and context to create strategic advantage to compete with for-profit organisations (Frumkin & Andre-Clark, 2000). Studies on this type of HR strategies shows potential positive outcomes, such as improved reputation, increased capacities for recruitment and employee retention, ... (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010).

b) Another HRM framework: 5 models of HRM of Akingbola

Akingbola (2012) presents another framework for human resource management in CSOs, starting from the contingency theory and social exchange theory. Briefly summarized his framework highlights that the specific HRM model in an organisation is the outcome of an interplay between contextual drivers (e.g. stakeholders, funders, ...) which influence the organisational values and goals, organisational characteristics (e.g. size, age), employee characteristics, HR practices and strategy (Figure 4.3).

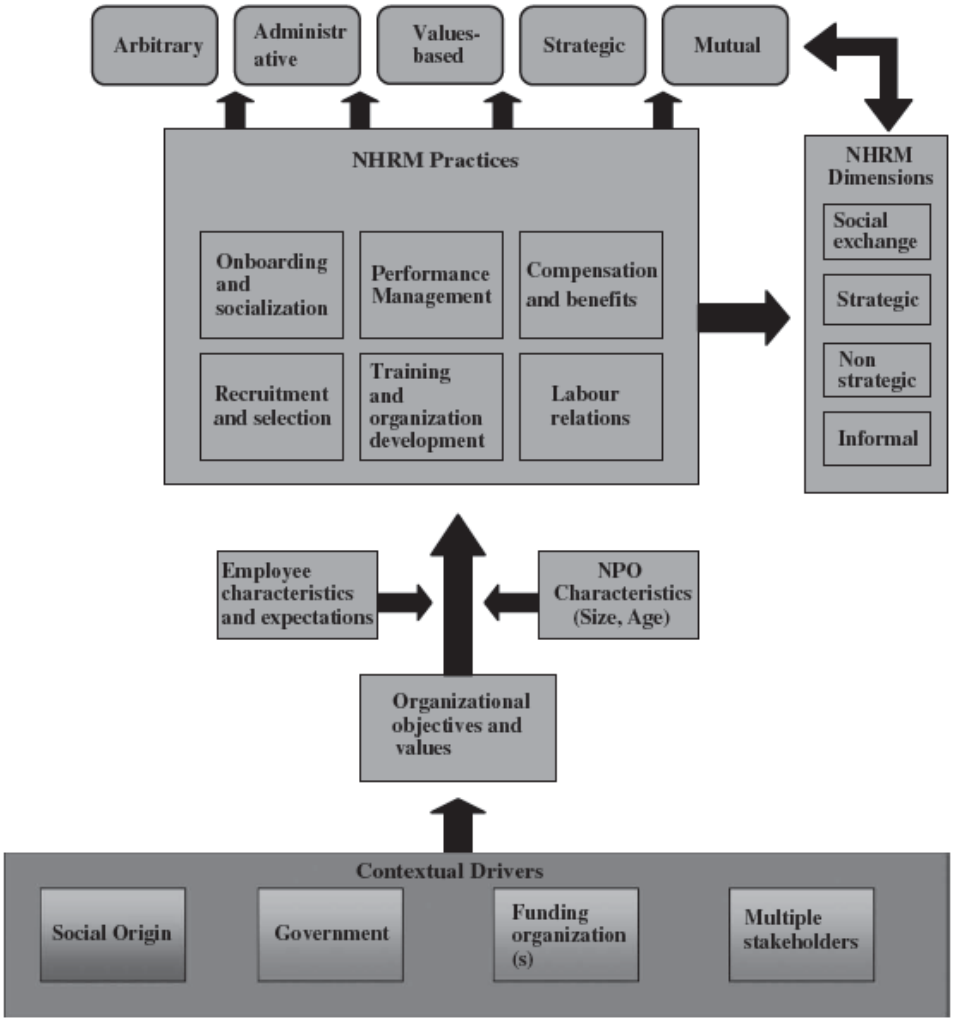
Akingbola (2012) discerns five main HRM models, which besides the first, base model are very comparable with the typology of Ridder and colleagues. Next to terminological differences between the HRM models which are discussed by Akingbola (2012) and Ridder and colleagues (Ridder, Baluch, et al., 2012; Ridder & McCandless, 2010), Akingbola discerns an additional model, namely the arbitrary model (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 Comparison of frameworks of Akingbola (2012) and Ridder and colleagues (2010, 2012)

Akingbola (2012)	Ridder & colleagues (2010, 2012)
Arbitrary HRM	
Administrative HRM	Administrative HRM
Values-based HRM	Motivational HRM
Strategic HRM	Strategic HRM
Mutual HRM	Values-driven HRM or Values-based HRM

In the 'arbitrary model' HRM is very basic with little formalized HR practices and based on informal interpersonal processes. In the 'administrative model' basic HR practices are used in a non-strategic way and are many seen as processes or requirements which need to be fulfilled. Within the 'values-based model' the main driver for HRM are the values. All HR practices are aligned with these values and the aim is to create a competitive advantage through a strong fit between the employees and the mission and values of the organisations. In the 'strategic model' on the other hand HRM practices are aligned with the strategy of the organisation, which should allow to create a competitive advantage. HR practices have a strong focus on strategic goals. Finally, in the 'mutual model' a HRM practices are aligned both with the strategic and social goals of the organisation, with attention for social drivers, employee characteristics as well as organisational goals. Although names are slightly different, also this author put forward the 'mutual value-based model of HRM as the one to strive for as CSO.

Figure 4.3 Non-profit human resource management framework of Akingbola (2012)



Source Figure taken from Akingbola (2012)

4.4 Conclusion

High performance work systems propose an approach towards HRM with a focus to enhance the organisational performance through a strategic use of bundles of interrelated HRM practices and policies and that enhance the ability, willingness and opportunities of employees to contribute in their daily work to the strategic goals or targets of a CSO. This approach has shown effectiveness within private organisations. Only few studies have looked to the value of this HRM system theory to the field of CSOs, but they look promising. However, mainly from the perspective of CSOs, an important critique which is given on HPWS is the absence of attention for the dimension of organisational values and mission as well as employee outcomes.

In the light of these concerns scholars have proposed some frameworks for HRM strategies in CSOs: high commitment HRM and values-based HRM. In high commitment HRM the focus is on HR practices that will enhance the commitment and engagement of the employees. In values-based HRM the values and mission and the strategic goals of the organisation, employee characteristics, etc. are taken into account in the development of the HR strategy. All these approaches take a broader perspective on the organisation and its employees, in all their characteristics and go beyond the more private sector oriented focus on (financial) performance in the development of an HR strategy that is in line with the organisation and its employees.

The main messages which can be taken from these non-profit HRM models is that an effective HRM strategy in CSOs should combine strategic goals and the organisational values and mission to ensure a good fit between HRM practices and the unique characteristics of CSOs and their employees. If the value dimension is neglected and HR 'best' practices are blindly copied, the risk arises that employees will experience conflict and frustrations and the main assets of the professional workforce (intrinsic motivation, nonmonetary orientation, drive, commitment and engagement, ...) will deteriorate, with unwanted negative influences on the organisational performance.

5 | Discussion

5.1 General conclusions from the literature review

The focus of this position paper was on professional work in CSOs. CSO professionals discern themselves from volunteers by the fact that they engage in activities with a social goal as a paid occupation (while volunteers do this without financial reward). Based on literature review of classifications of tasks, responsibilities and competences of CSO professionals we have seen that social work forms the core of CSO jobs.

Literature on job quality of CSO jobs – although mainly UK and US oriented and approaching civil society from a broad perspective – mainly sketches job quality to be lower compared to for-profit organisations. Especially high levels of part-time work and temporary contracts, lower wages, high speed pressures and emotional demands and high flexibility requirements are unfavourable characteristics of these jobs.

We tried to answer the question why CSO professionals choose to work in CSO jobs instead of a job within the for-profit sector with more favourable job characteristics through the exploration several hypotheses and theories, which all point towards the motivational aspect but show a strong dichotomy in approaches. On the one hand some theories and hypotheses consider the rewarding and motivating job characteristics of CSOs jobs as main element causing a motivational difference. Other approaches on the other hand theorize about personal differences between employees in CSOs and for-profit organisations in terms of preferences, expectations, motivations, ... In short: are the motivational differences we see in CSOs due to differences between CSO jobs and for-profit jobs, or are there clear differences between the employees who work in CSOs and those in for-profit organisations? Or should we consider a third option which underlines a fit between the unique motivational aspects of CSOs jobs and the typical characteristics and motivational preferences of CSO employees? The current overview of literature does not allow us to give a clear and univocal answer to this question.

Our literature review of potential impacts of societal, political and economic trends on CSO professionals exposed the limited existence of academic research on these topics, which if present is mainly UK and US oriented and focusing on the service delivery role of CSOs.

Marketization, New Public Management, austerity and personalisation of services are put forward in international literature as main trends pressuring CSOs to change the way they work and organise their work and employees. This literature is very critical and negative and strongly focuses on the detrimental effects of these trends – linked with cost savings, changes in funding, increased control mechanisms – on the job quality and job characteristics of CSO jobs, the motivation of professionals in CSOs and deprofessionalization.

The scarce research on the impact of other trends – such as globalisation and digitalisation – mainly focuses on changes in the skills and competences which are needed within CSOs and from professionals in these organisations.

In the third part of this position paper we explored whether innovative HRM frameworks from the private sector – such as HPWS - might provide a favourable tool for CSOs to deal with the impact of contextual changes and use them to their (competitive) advantage. High performance work systems propose an approach towards HRM with a focus to enhance the organisational performance through a strategic use of bundles of interrelated HRM practices and policies and that enhance the ability,

willingness and opportunities of employees to contribute in their daily work to the strategic goals or targets of a CSO.

Existing literature further stresses the importance of a fit between HRM policies and practices and the organisational strategy, mission and values. There are two main critiques formulated with regard to the implementation of HPWS in CSOs: HPWS has too limited attention for the dimension of (1) organisational values and mission and (2) employee outcomes.

Two innovative frameworks are discussed which might meet these critiques: high commitment HRM and values-based HRM. High commitment HRM points towards the use of commitment-focused HR practices with employee participation and autonomy as core dimension. Values-based HRM stresses the importance to take organisational values and employee characteristics into account next to the strategic goals of the organisation. Neglecting this value dimension in an HRM strategy in CSOs might cause conflicts with the specific rewarding job characteristics of CSO jobs or the typical motivational preferences of CSO professionals.

5.2 Remarks and missing topics in the literature review

Across the literature review we can note that academic research on CSO professionals has limited attention for the role and place of volunteers within CSOs and their influence on the jobs of CSO professionals. Volunteers are at the core of civil society organisations. Most CSOs cannot survive without them. Thus they play an important role in the daily activities of CSO professionals. The interaction and relations with volunteers probably also have an influence on the job quality, bringing about additional tasks (cooperation, consultation, motivation, guidance, ...) and potential emotional pressures (conflicts, balancing interests, ...). The societal changes also have an influence on volunteers (who volunteers and who not), their motivation and engagement to volunteer and their needs and expectations. These changes logically also will have repercussions for the CSO professionals, but these topics remain black boxes until today.

This paper synthesizes the main observations form existing academic literature. However, throughout the paper it has become clear that most literature comes for the health care sector and focuses on CSOs which mainly have a service provision role. Consequently the characteristics, job tasks and competences, and impact of societal changes on CSO professionals with a mainly political role have been less discussed and hypothesized.

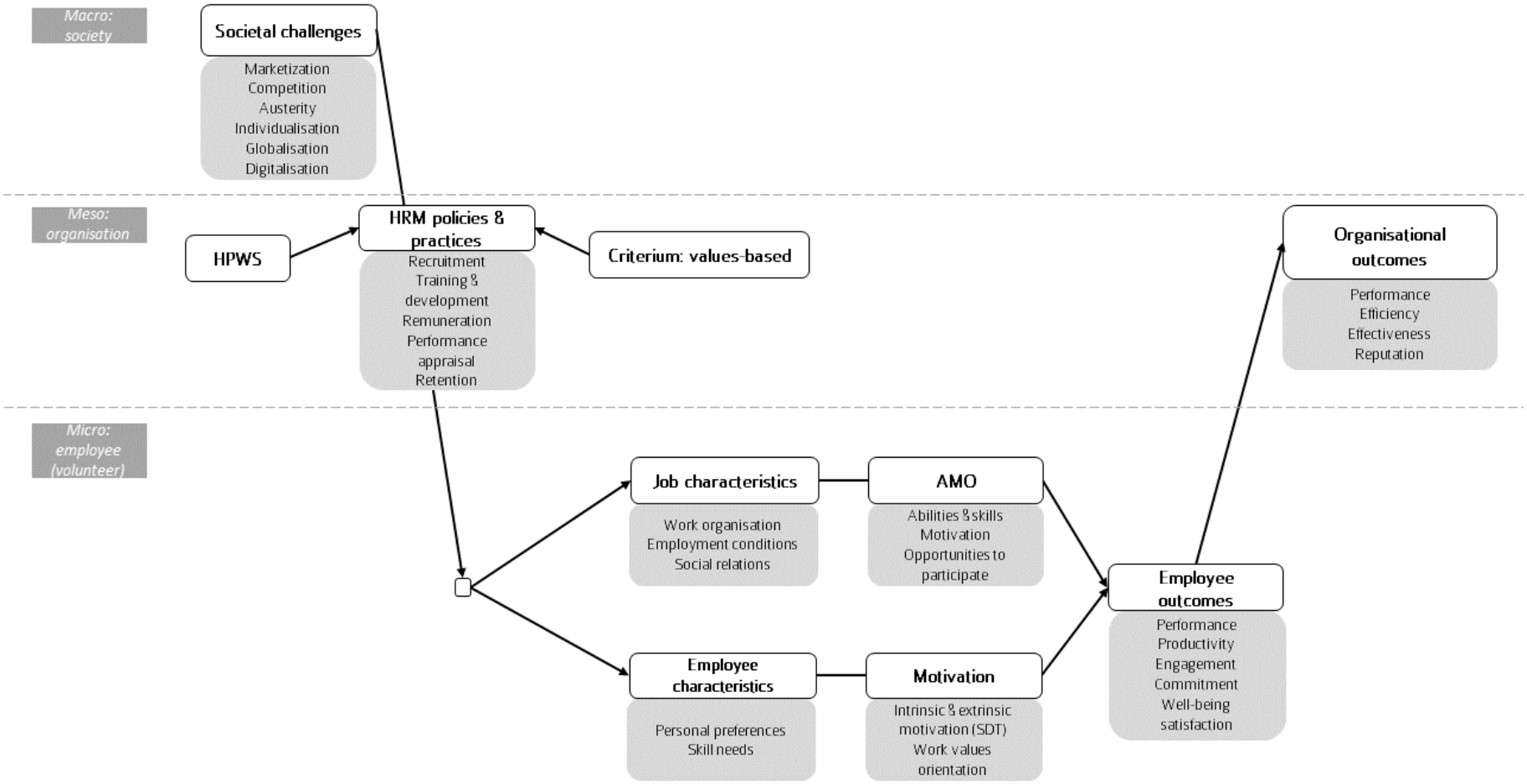
5.3 A general framework to understand the impact of societal, political and economic trends on CSO jobs and professionals

To conclude this literature review, we can summarize the different relations which were discussed into one framework, which will help us to understand and to untangle the impact of societal, political and economic changes on CSO jobs and CSO professionals (Figure 5.1).

Societal changes, such as marketization, individualisation, globalisation, digitalisation, etc. put pressures on CSOs to change the way they work and manage their employees. These pressures are thus translated through changes in the (explicit or implicit) HRM policies and practices of the organisation. CSOs will adapt their recruitment strategy, training and development policies, remuneration systems, performance management and appraisal systems, and retention practices in response to certain external pressures or in answers to new questions which arise.

For example demands for new and other skills of employees will have an impact on the recruitment practices (e.g. hiring other profiles of CSO professionals) and training and development policies (e.g. training for other skills).

Figure 5.1 General framework



HRM practices are translated into **specific job characteristics** for CSO jobs but also changes in the **employee characteristics** of the workforce (e.g. other people are hired).

Changes in the HRM practices will become visible in changes in **job characteristics** in terms of work organisation, employment conditions or social relations at the workplace. As discussed job characteristics (and indirectly HRM practices) – together with other elements – will influence the abilities and skills, motivation and opportunities to participate (**AMO**) of the CSO professionals. The "abilities, motivation and opportunities" will than translate into specific favourable or unfavourable **employee outcomes**.

On the other hand the HRM practices and policies of the organisation also determines the type of people which works in the organisation and their **employee characteristics,** such as their personal preferences and skill needs. These employee characteristics can be related with the **motivation** employees hold for their job: the extent to which this are intrinsic or extrinsic motivations, the work values orientation, ... Further there is a relation between the motivation and **employee outcomes**.

Both the job characteristics and the employee characteristics together, and the interplay between these two factors will result in specific **employee outcomes**, such as employee performance and productivity, job engagement, organisational commitment, well-being, job satisfaction and life satisfaction, turnover intention, etc. Finally favourable employee outcomes can be linked with **favourable organisational outcomes**, such as performance, efficiency, effectiveness, good reputation, etc.

appendix 1 Additional tables

Table a1.1 Overview of literature regarding tasks, responsibilities and activities of workers in CSOs

Authors & Where	What	List	
Bentley, Walsh, & Farmer (2005) Psychiatric medication activities USA	4 types of activities	Discussion-focussed activities with clients Direct collaborative activities with others Teaching or information-sharing activities Hands-on case management-related activities	
Agresta (2004) School social workers USA	21 professional roles	Individual counselling Group counselling Crisis intervention Conflict resolution Academic advisement Vocational interest testing Academic scheduling College advisement Providing staff training Program development Making referrals Staff meetings	Research Personal professional development Parent education Parent consultation Administrator and/or teacher consultation Report writing Psychometric testing Community outreach Assessing psychosocial adjustment
Lucassen, van Deth, & Sok (2011) Advocates[22] Netherlands	4 main tasks	Signalling of problems and questions Determining a strategy and plan of approach Executing actions Evaluation of approach and results	
(Dominelli, 2009) Social worker	5 responsibilities or tasks	**Facilitators** (who enable others to reach their objectives) **Gatekeepers** (who (dis)allow access to social resources and services) **Regulators** (who control unacceptable behaviours to maintain social order and minimize users' capacities to harm themselves or others) **Upholders** (of people's human rights and citizenship status) **Advocates** (for change)	
Asquith, Clark, & Waterhouse (2005) Social worker Scotland	6 ideal types: responsibilities or tasks	Counsellor or caseworker Advocate Partner Assessor of risk and of need Care manager Agent of social control	

22 In Dutch: belangenbehartigers

The college of social work (2014) Social workers England	5 responsibilities or tasks	Responding to complex needs Effective safeguarding and risk management Addressing adversity and social exclusion Promoting independence and autonomy Prevention and early intervention
BELGIUM		
Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen (1997a) Societal workers Belgium	Tasks of societal workers	Assistance[23]: psychosocial, informative Prevention Mediation and coordination of care Research and reporting Consultation, cooperation and organisation Training and education Signalling and policy-oriented work
Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen (2000) Social-cultural worker Belgium	3 main tasks and 3 related tasks of social-cultural workers	Main tasks - Education[24] - Activation (intervention) - Animation Related tasks - Assistance - Policy and governance in an organisation - Communication
Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen (1997b) Societal advisor Belgium	4 functions/roles of societal advisors[25]	Welcoming role social-legal advice and consultation[26] Service-oriented role social-legal advice and consultation Signal function social-legal advice and consultation Controlling function
Werkgroep beroepsprofiel van de Vlaamse Hogescholen (1998) Employee social policy Belgium	5 tasks of an employee social policy	Collective approach to problems[27] Research work Education Social services Organization and movement building
De Ambrassade (2016) Social cultural work (agogic occupations) Belgium	9 tasks	Orienting – relations[28] Considering, choosing, designing Organising and guiding Representing, cooperating, networking Reporting, evaluating, justifying Advising Communicating Supporting, coaching, guiding The learning professional (developing own expertise)

23 Translated from Dutch: hulpverlening; onderzoek en rapportering; overleg, samenwerken en organiseren, opleiding en vorming
24 Translated from Dutch: educatie, activering (interventie), animatie, hulpverlening, beleid en beheer in een organisatie, communicatie.
25 In Dutch: maatschappelijk adviseur
26 In Dutch: Onthaalfunctie van sociaal-juridische advisering, dienstverlenende functie van sociaal-juridische advisering, signaalfunctie van sociaal-juridische advisering, controlerende functie.
27 In Dutch: Collectieve probleemaanpak, studie –en onderzoekswerk, educatie, sociale dienstverlening, organisatie –en bewegingsuitbouw.
28 In Dutch: oriënteren – relaties; afwegen – kiezen – ontwerpen; organiseren & begeleiden; vertegenwoordigen – samenwerken – netwerken; rapporteren – evalueren – verantwoorden; adviseren; communiceren; ondersteunen – coachen – sturen; de lerende professional (eigen deskundigheid ontwikkelen)

Flemish association of social colleges (VVSH, 2007) Social advising Belgium	Key goals Key tasks	Ensure that individuals and groups are protected in their rights and come to life Is an intermediary in promoting qualitative and client-oriented work in organisations Invests the accessibility and quality of law, regulations and processes in society Case management Informing and advising, social consulting Mediating Job mediation Signalling Controlling Working preventive and educational Social policy and movement work and project work
Flemish association of social colleges (VVSH, 2007) Social work Belgium	Key goals Key tasks	Ensure that individuals and groups are protected in their rights Allow people to come to life Build social systems Psychosocial support Specific services Informative services and consulting Mediation Research and reporting General prevention Signalling and policy-oriented work Coordination of care and services Training and development Enabling tasks (e.g. life-long learning, reflection, cooperation, etc.)
Flemish association of social colleges (VVSH, 2007) Personnel work Belgium	Function levels 5 areas of activities	Strategic level Tactical level Operational level Staffing Development of personnel Employment conditions and working conditions Industrial relations Organisation development
Flemish association of social colleges (VVSH, 2007) Social-cultural work Belgium	Functions	Educational function Cultural function Activating function Tasks regarding organisational management and governance: - Internal: organizing, supporting and policy-oriented - External: representation in field and policy, networking, marketing & PR, signalling for lobbying

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